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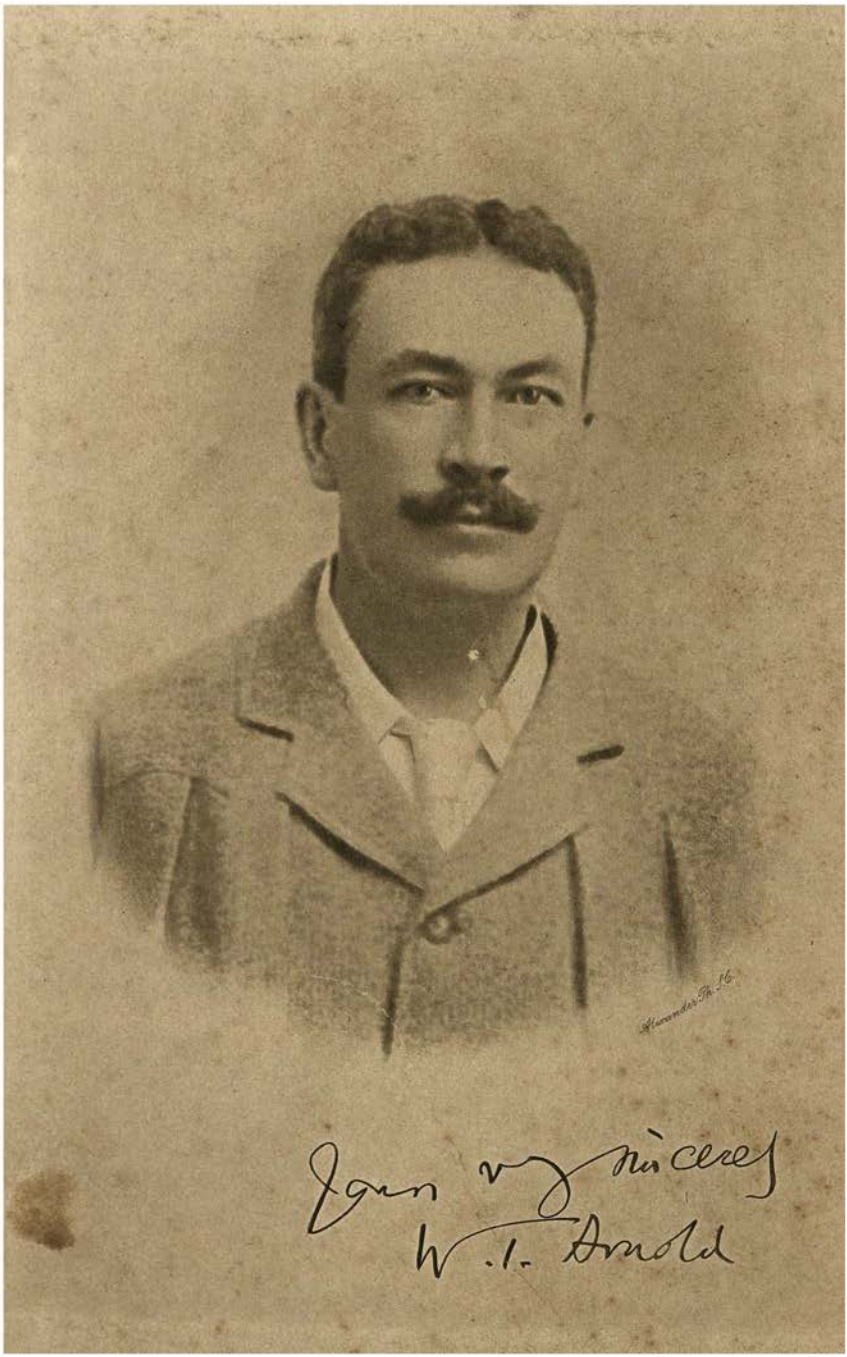
Yours very sincerely
W. I. Arnold

Studies of Roman Imperialism

BY

W. T. ARNOLD, M.A.

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EDITED BY

EDWARD FIDDES, M.A.,
Special Lecturer in Roman History.

WITH MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR

BY

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD AND C. E. MONTAGUE.

T. T. W-21

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE aim of this book is to preserve the fragment of Roman history of the early imperial period which W. T. Arnold left behind him. The original scheme of the work, and the great change which it afterwards underwent have been described on pp. xxxvi.—xxxvii. of his sister's memoir. It is enough to record here that what is now published represents but a small proportion of what Arnold intended to write. The fragment has been edited by Mr. Edward Fiddes, who is responsible for the introduction to the history, the notes in square brackets, the appendices, and the bibliography. His share in all these is more fully indicated by him on pages 1—7. The memoir of Arnold is written by his sister Mrs. Humphry Ward, and by Mr. C. E. Montague, for many years his colleague on the staff of the *Manchester Guardian*. Mrs. Ward has written the portions which deal with her brother's early life and last years. Mr. Montague has contributed the account of Arnold's Manchester life and of his activity as a journalist. The indexes have been compiled by Miss Marjorie Cooper, B.A.

Manchester,
July, 1906.

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MEMOIR

EARLY YEARS

By MARY A. WARD

EARLY YEARS.

(By Mary A. Ward.)

William Thomas Arnold, the author of the historical fragments published in this volume, lived, on the whole, one of the "hidden lives" of England. He was a journalist, and, in the words of his intimate friend and colleague, he "took anonymity seriously." He never regretted this "self-obliteration," for he believed, as Mr. Montague says, that it served the true end of his work, and that "for a man who wanted to get things done, there was no work like journalism." But it is well that when the work is over, those for whom a man of this type has spent ungrudgingly the best years of his life, and the maturity of great powers, should know something about it. England is daily served, through her Press, by a wonderful wealth of conscience, ability, and public spirit. Arnold delighted to believe this; and whenever it was a question, during his lifetime, of doing honour to the qualities and services of the higher journalism, in the case of other men, no one was keener than he. The inference that such honour carried with it, as to his own personal case, would never have occurred to him. But those who watched him work, and those to whom the high level of English professional character is dear, will pardon it, I think, if we, his sister and his friend, endeavour, now that he is gone, to tell shortly the story

of William Arnold's strenuous life and premature death, to point out the rarity and beauty of the qualities he possessed, or to illustrate the seriousness of the work to which he gave his powers. Of his historical writing, the Editors of the Roman History chapters contained in this volume will speak. In this brief memoir, we propose to give a general biographical account, and to show his relation to journalism.

William Thomas Arnold was the eldest son and second child of Thomas and Julia Arnold, and was born at Hobart, Tasmania, on September 18th, 1852. His father, Thomas Arnold, was the second son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and Matthew Arnold's junior by less than a year. Moved by a young and democratic despair of the conditions of life, social and political, in the Old World, Thomas Arnold, like Philip Hewson, in the "Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich,"—his partial portrait indeed, at the hand of his dear friend, Arthur Clough,—went out, in 1847, to seek for "simpler manners, purer laws" in the Colonies. He went to New Zealand, where Dr. Arnold had bought a little land some few years before. But the Oxford first classman, steeped in George Sand, Emerson and Carlyle, was not made for the rough-and-tumble conditions of an infant colony. He did his best; there was no idleness or shirking. But disillusion and disappointment were inevitable; and when, in 1849, Sir William Denison, then Governor of Tasmania, hearing that a son of Arnold's, with distinguished university antecedents, was in New Zealand, offered the young colonist the post of Chief Inspector of Schools for Tasmania, the offer was gladly accepted. Within a few months Thomas Arnold, the younger, had landed in Tasmania, and taken up his new work; he had also fallen in love with Miss Julia Sorell,

the grand-daughter of a former Governor of the Colony, and he married her on June 15th, 1850.

Rather more than two years later their son William was born to them. He was a sunny, good-tempered child, placid generally, and self-contained, but getting his own way at times with the humorous determination he often showed in later life. A relation, for instance, gave him, on his fourth birthday, a little jacket, of which, as being no doubt a more masculine garment than he was accustomed to wear, he was vastly proud. A covetous elder sister of five tried to coax it out of him, and when baffled, declared that selfish boys could not go to heaven. Willy protested that he was certainly going there, and then added, hugging his jacket to him, "but I'll go with my jacket on though!" The sister and brother, a pair of happy companions, played together in Tasmanian fields, till, in 1856, dark days came upon the family. Thomas Arnold, after various vicissitudes of thought and belief, joined the Church of Rome in that year, and his position of Chief Inspector of the Colony's schools became untenable. He sailed for England in the autumn of 1856, with his wife and three young children.

It was a difficult and uncertain life to which he and they were going. He was without money or prospects at the time of his return; yet not without friends. Within a few months, he had been offered the professorship of English Literature in the new Catholic University of Dublin, of which Dr. Newman was the head, and for the next five years the family home was fixed in Ireland. Years of straightened means and constant struggles, passed in dismal furnished houses in Rathmines or Kingstown, with only the joys of the wide Kingstown sands, their gulls and their cockles, or the excitement of the storms in winter dashing against their little house on the sea-wall, or the

delight of the yearly box, in which the kind Tasmanian relations sent presents for father, mother and children, to brighten a record marked by few of the pleasures now lavished on the modern child. But throughout this time of poverty and stress, Thomas Arnold's old home, Fox How, —the grey stone house and beautiful garden in the Lakes, where Arnold of Rugby had passed his holidays—was often a place of paradise to the Tasmanian children. The delights of the garden; of its brook, which could be dammed and bridged by the third generation, as Matthew Arnold and his brothers and sisters had dammed and bridged it in the second; the charm of its wooded knolls, its wild strawberry beds, its rocks where the wild pinks grew, its hidden thickets of wild raspberries, its border of wood above the rippling or swirling Rotha; the humours of its old gardener, Banks, who gave out the Psalm and hymn-tunes on Sunday, in Rydal Chapel, with a tuning-fork; its beloved birch-tree, its outlook on the deep bosom of Fairfield, its roses and its rhododendrons,—these things sank deep into young hearts, and William Arnold's love of the Lakes, and of all the detail of their streams and hills, must be dated from these childish days. Nor was it only the garden and the fells that made their mark. Inside the house there were the influences of a home life which had been moulded by the personality of Arnold of Rugby, by his high intelligence, his unworldliness, his religious faith. The Doctor indeed was gone. Of his nine children only one—Frances, the youngest daughter—was still at home and unmarried. But his widow, wonderfully helped by "Aunt Fan," still held the family together, was still the idol of her children, scattered as they were over the world, and was now to become the friend and good angel of her grandchildren. William Arnold was always peculiarly devoted to her. Her gentleness, her clear brain,

her sympathy with children, her sense of fun, made even delightful Fox How more delightful. To tuck oneself up on the sofa beside "Grandmamma" while she told a story, to be shown the treasures of a little cabinet behind the sofa, which contained many relics of the Penroses from whom "Grandmamma" descended, to say one's hymn to her on Sunday afternoon, or to be promoted to drive with her to Rydal or Ambleside,—these were among the chief pleasures of the fast-increasing grandchildren; and there are many signs in Willy Arnold's letters from Rugby and Oxford which show how deeply Mrs. Arnold's personality and the Fox How influences generally had touched his affections as a child.

And as he grew older there were other houses of the Arnold kindred open to him, where he spent happy hours and learnt the love of nature. Woodhouse, near Loughborough, a small estate on the edge of Charnwood Forest, where lived Arnold's second daughter, then Mrs. Hiley, was a happy hunting ground to Willy, as to his brothers and sisters. "Isn't the avenue of limes near the Long Pond beautiful?" he asks eagerly in a childish letter written from Woodhouse when he was ten. And here, too, the mistress of the house, and the atmosphere surrounding her, were of importance to the boy's development. Mrs. Hiley—"Aunt Mary"—was always a special friend to her brother Tom's children, and her generous impetuous character will never be forgotten by those who knew her. A Liberal and reformer, as befitted her father's daughter, in the midst of a Tory countryside, a follower of Maurice and Kingsley in her ardent youth, keeping to the end of her life the same eager temperament, the same interest in religious and political discussion, "Aunt Mary," with her fine rugged face and keen dark eyes, was, even for a child, a very stimulating companion. The influence on

Willy Arnold of her passionate Liberalism, her natural love of equality, her sympathy with and understanding of peasant life, was renewed in many later visits, and he often spoke of it in later life. There were also another kind aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Cropper, of Dingle Bank, Liverpool, with whom the little boy passed happy weeks and months, in a house and grounds beside the Mersey, where he might spend his quick wits day by day in the watching of the tidal river and its shipping.

Meanwhile the struggle with poverty and a constantly increasing family had been somewhat lightened for Thomas Arnold and his high-spirited overburdened wife, by his appointment to the Classical Mastership of the Oratory School, Birmingham, of which John Henry Newman had recently become the head. The household moved to Edgbaston in January, 1862, and the two elder boys, Willy and Theodore, entered the Oratory School. By the terms of a compact then common in such cases, it had been agreed at the time of the father's conversion to Catholicism that the boys should follow his faith and the girls the mother's. But Catholicism never laid any hold upon the boys, owing no doubt to the influence of their mother and of the Arnold and Fox How traditions. Willy, especially, often recalled in later years the determination he had formed, even as a child in the Oratory School, to give it up as soon as he should be of an age to do so. But any conflict between father and son was averted by a temporary change in Tom Arnold's own opinions. Influenced by causes that he himself describes in his "Passages from a Wandering Life," he left the Church of Rome and broke off his connection with Dr. Newman, after three years at the Oratory. Old friends—his own and his father's—encouraged him to settle as a private tutor at Oxford; and thither the family moved in the summer of 1865.

Thenceforward the tide of their life set in a new direction. Or rather the years in Dublin and Edgbaston may be said to have represented a deviation from a more normal path, a path to which they now returned,—the children permanently, the father for a time only. The spirit of Oxford and Rugby recaptured them. Willy, now thirteen, was sent to Rugby, and went to a preparatory school for a year, while living as a child of the house in the family of the headmaster, Dr. Temple. Thence he was transferred to the house of Mr. Charles Arnold; he became in due time Head of School, won an open scholarship at University College, Oxford, in 1871, and went up to the University in the autumn of that year.

Already in his school-days he had given promise of the chief powers and characteristics of his manhood. He won an English literature prize of £5 at the Oratory when he was twelve years old, and well remembered Dr. Newman putting the golden coins into his hand, and the joy of the spending! He read "Paradise Lost" at the same age, and wrote sententiously to his mother: "I can truly say with Pope it has afforded me much pleasure!" And at Rugby, as he says in an Oxford letter, he read "all the English poets," read indeed omnivorously, with a hungry delight and curiosity, which affected all his later development, but was not perhaps immediately favourable to his success in the Oxford Schools. His bodily prowess developed at the same time. He was not in the first rank as a cricketer or a football player, but he was Captain of his House Eleven at Rugby, and head of the Twenty-Two, while he only just failed to play in the School Eleven against Marlborough. Later on, boating at Oxford, "hare and hounds," and long walks took the place of cricket and football.

The influences of Rugby, however, during William

Arnold's later years there, were by no means wholly advantageous. Those were the days of Dr. Hayman, and the internal strife which for a time darkened the fortunes of the School affected the older boys, and diverted their attention from more profitable matters. Arnold afterwards spoke with some bitterness of his Rugby training. But at the same time he owed to Rugby several of the warmest friendships of his after life, and one friendship above all—that with his future brother-in-law, Mr. E. L. B. Allen—which was of the greatest importance to his happiness and development. Arnold was already high in the School when Edward Allen entered it. It was in 1869, "when I was emerging from the Middle School," says Mr. Allen, "that our real acquaintance began.

> "He had not yet become really good at any of the games—except perhaps fives—(for that matter he was not then either big or strong enough to be so), and so was not what was technically called a 'swell,' which practically meant a football 'cap' or a member of the School Cricket Eleven—the only sure title to prestige (of the first rank) and (generally) popularity. . . . . He was mentally much more grown up than his compeers, I should say. He was no good at mathematics or science ('stinks'), but in all else seemed to me to have a knowledge, or a facility, that put him on a different plane from the rest. He was a very stimulating personality to me when I got to know him, as he had such a vivid interest in knowledge generally, and a lightning-like way of seeing the interesting points in things new to him. He *liked* work—it came as natural to him as flying to a bird. . . . . His mind seemed to me to make hawk-like pounces on new interests. Art—I mean pictures—was one of these, and a permanent

one. . . . . His love of poetry was already a strong growth; but the phase of it, that I was, as it were, present at the dawning of, was the spell which sensuous romance like that of the 'Earthly Paradise' had for him—and me. It went hand in hand, as it were, with an eager projection of one's soul into the possibilities of romance that our own lives might hold, and of course the Eternal Feminine figured largely in it. It was of our years, I suppose; for this was towards the end of our joint Rugby days. But the spell had also in it a sort of Forest of Arden charm; woods and streams came into it, which Willy always had a wonderful feeling for, in *themselves*, while mine was always complicated with fish and deer. We used to go long walks away down the Barley Road and others, and even the Rugby country had bits that ministered to the instinct for the 'good green wood.' . . . . He was an omnivorous reader, and I suspect that his vivid interest in all manner of things rather worked against his specialising in some department of classics which (later) would have paid better at the University. However, he was Head of the School, and I for one hardly conceived of a dizzier eminence."

Mr. Allen adds that Arnold was not, so far as could be seen, much influenced by religion during his school years, but he had "a strong sense of moral dignity, of the καλὸν κάγαθόν, a term he taught me, and he had a sort of savage hatred of brutality. His friendship was for me very much the making of my school life, as also it has been *the* friendship of my life."

It is clear that when he reached Oxford, in October 1871, he was already a strong personality. From some of his early Oxford letters to Edward Allen, we may see how open was the youth of nineteen or twenty to the influence

of literature, or of the contemporary forces in art and verse—reading Spenser constantly, and scribbling Spenserian verse, absorbed in William Morris, influenced by his uncle, Matthew Arnold, delighting in pictures, curious about travel and foreign parts, living in his friends' lives and fortunes, and at the same time rich in personal enthusiasms,—for Nature above all, and Nature's reflection in great poetry.

"I get to love Art more and more," he wrote to Edward Allen, when he was but nineteen, "to make it more and more the great study and delight of my life, and I don't know that anything could give me so much pleasure as that you should be penetrated by the same feeling. . . ."

And a passage describing a Claude engraving, written nearly a year later, may be quoted as showing a command, already considerable, of easy and imaginative prose, together with a certain quick instinct for moral reality which lays its bracing touch upon him, even in the Temple of Art:

"There is nothing I can see in Turner like the warm and dreamy imagination, the subtle and exquisite fancy, which I find in Claude. His pictures give the mind a sense of peace and rest; one becomes an old Greek, living in the fairest country in the world, and, from the dark shades of the tall trees that keep out the scorching afternoon sun, looking out dreamily over the blue waters of the Mediterranean, far away to where in the dim distance rise the white peaks of the opposite coast. A little inland rises the great temple of Aphrodite, gleaming with pure white marble, up whose gleaming steps pass quickly and gladly the lover and the beloved, she bearing perhaps in her bosom two white doves as an

offering to the goddess, or carrying on her head a basket filled with golden apples. He carries us to a pleasant land of all loveliness, 'a land where it is always afternoon,' but one has to shut one's eyes, and turn away one's face, and remember that man was not only made for such things as these."

Arnold's early letters indeed may be said to be divided between the twin passions for beauty and knowledge, and an abiding sense of 'conduct,' in Matthew Arnold's sense. He tells his friend that he is writing an elaborate essay on "that most delightful of poets, Chaucer." Or he is attempting verse in the Elizabethan manner:

"Quick through the veil of trees I stepped and stood
On a green slope, thick-grassed outside the wood
Down sloping to the stream; most joyous was
This softest moss, twined with the greenest grass
Through which the bluebells peeped, and daisies small
And buttercups; . . ."

While, to the same date, almost, as these verses, belongs a letter of sympathy written to his friend Allen on the occasion of a sister's death, which breathes another note, equally true and representative:

"I really was *very* sorry to hear about your sister. You remember how we used to say that we didn't believe we should care the very least if somebody died whom we had never seen, however dear that person may have been to one dear to ourselves. But I found when the reality came that it had the effect of sobering and saddening me for several days. . . . I think such a death might be a lesson to us both. You will remember that latterly, in our talk at all events, we came very near believing the

idea of life, held by such men as Morris and his school, namely that life was a joyful thing, out of which it should be a man's great end and aim to get as much joy as possible for himself. This view of life is sternly confronted by the grim ugliness and joylessness of death. What can Morris give us when confronted with this?"

Friendship, humour, intellectual curiosity, the love of beauty, and moral seriousness,—marked by these main traits, Arnold's character rapidly unfolded. Edward Allen, in the year after William Arnold entered the University, went out to China as a Student Interpreter. It was a great wrench to Arnold. "To think that we shall not be able to see each other for six years! But we will not forget—though the experience of all men says that we must forget. That unheard of misery and baseness shall not be ours. What are six years? At first no doubt"—after Allen's return—"we shall be strange with one another, feeling back, as it were, to the old grooves, but not for long—not for long. Keep a good heart, old fellow. If we were only going together to that new world! Then I at least should not be sad but jubilant!" Nor do the friend's claims weaken with absence. The eager letters go regularly across the sea; Arnold forms a "Chinese Library" that he may the better follow Allen's fortunes; and when a new era dawns for himself, it is in Allen that he naturally confides.

It was in the summer of 1872 that Arnold first saw the lady who five years later became his wife, and brought him what he called in one of the letters of his later years "the supreme good fortune of my marriage." It was at Fox How, while he was staying on a summer holiday in the old family home, that he first saw Miss Henrietta Wale, a grandchild of Archbishop Whately, the intimate friend of Arnold of Rugby. Arnold's children and Whately's

children had been affectionate comrades in the second generation, and now, in the third, the old attraction flowered afresh. From the moment when Arnold first made acquaintance with his future wife, that feeling declared itself which was to be the romance of his youth, the joy of his manhood, and the best consolation and support of his last suffering years. But naturally relations counselled prudence. When he first fell in love Arnold was not twenty, and his Oxford career had only begun. A year's probation was imposed, and an engagement was not allowed till December 1873. The betrothal lasted three years and a half, and they were married in June 1877.

This new and overmastering affection greatly influenced his Oxford life. The records of it are contained first in a Journal, full of young romance and high aspiration, written during the latter part of 1872, then in a series of letters written to Miss Wale's mother during the year of probation, and finally in the love-letters which chronicle his most intimate thoughts and feelings during his long engagement. By the help of some of these, we are able to see how the serious wish to marry curbs a mind tempered to wander in too many paths, and leads the young lover to work for examinations, as he has never yet worked. Unfortunately lost time could not be wholly recovered. In pure scholarship he could not overtake men who had come up from school better prepared; and when Greats work began, the tendency to follow up subjects and studies not relevant to success in the schools, was still too strong, and he just missed his first. But he missed it through aiming at too much rather than too little, and the stores of miscellaneous reading which availed him scantly in the schools were of great service to his later career as a journalist. Meanwhile he went through recurrent periods of over-work and starved sleep which strained his health; and the disappointments

of his two second-classes were severe. Yet, as many of his letters show, he met these reverses, after the first shock was over, with a fresh and elastic courage, inspired no doubt by that intimate and abiding happiness which love had brought him; and he had no sooner passed through Greats than we find him plunged in teaching and lecturing, already remarkable in both, and on the way to that brilliant Arnold Essay, which was so soon to retrieve his position both in his own eyes and in those of others.

I have arranged the following poems, and extracts from letters, so as to give a few illustrations of his thoughts and pleasures during these Oxford years, especially of his delight in nature, in the Oxford river country, or in the Westmoreland mountains; while a few other letters will show his growing historical interests, and the passing of his boyish love of poetry into a scholarly knowledge of English Literature, or reveal to us the working of that normal discipline of life which was so gently and fortunately brought to bear on him by his engagement and early marriage.

This trio of poems for instance, while they show, poetically, no more than that facility and charm which many a clever youth commands, are yet very characteristic of the two main strains in him—moral earnestness, and a Spenserian love of beauty. The first sonnet was written in his twentieth, the other in his twenty-second year; and "The Garden of the Hesperides" was contributed to a private magazine, called *The Miscellany*, edited by two daughters of Dr. Bradley, then Master of University and afterwards Dean of Westminster,—one of whom has since become the well-known novelist and poet, Mrs. H. G. Woods, the author of "A Village Tragedy," and "Esther Vanhomrigh." Arnold took a lively interest in *The Miscellany*, which ran a short but energetic course.

The Rossetti influence in the following is of course plain to see. The lines were suggested by the famous passage at the end of the 3rd Canto of the *Inferno*.

A Dream.

In light more clear than any earthly day
God was. The fashion of his form, by me
Unspeakable, with dreadful majesty
Enchained mine awestruck eyes: I could but pray
Silent. The just souls round about God lay
In intense prayer, and each in his degree
Rose towards Him by some power silently
And they were God, and God himself was they
Beneath all dark. With eager straining sigh
Through the thin cold and unsubstantial air
I saw those proved unworthy sinking light,
Like leaves slow scattering downwards from the bare
Tree-tops in winter—motionless despair—
Into the dim forgetfulness of night.

1872. W. T. A.

In the two other poems, the gaiety of the first, and the strong feeling of the second, show the natural development of the happy year following on his engagement.

The Garden of the Hesperides.

Near a noise of unseen fountains,
Far above the ancient mountains,
Stand the golden-fruited trees.
By them stand three white-robed maidens,
Sing in sweet and solemn cadence,
Sing the three Hesperides.

Thronging up, a wall of wonder,
Cradle of the rattling thunder,
There above the mountains meet.
Here the grass is cool in shadow,
Down below each field and meadow,
Golden in the summer heat.

Far beyond, the great sea-spaces—
Silent in the noon's embraces,
  Wide they lie beneath the sun.
High aloft the white clouds hover,
Cast their purple shadows over;
  Slowly passing, one by one.

Heaven is kind; and earth and ocean
Stilled for once their restless motion,
  Sleep beneath her silent wing.
He, who stands among the mountains
There beside the plashing fountains,
  Only hears the maidens sing.

See his lips half part asunder!
See his eyes, their look of wonder!
  See him passing through the trees!
Louder now the sweet song rises.
Maidens! guard your golden prizes.
  See, he cometh! Heracles!

W. T. Arnold.

The Miscellany (Edited by E. M. B. and M. L. B.), April, 1874 (Vol. viii., No. 26.)

In the Sweat of Thy Brow Shalt Thou Eat Bread.

My spirit has fed full of idleness
  And through the empty chambers of the mind
  Goes wand'ring ill at ease, nor can it find
What may console or stay its loneliness.
  With ghostly, echoing feet follows behind
The phantom of Unrest. Sad thoughts oppress
An unseen band, but blightful none the less,
  The spirit sunder'd from its toiling kind.

Thus hopeless, sick at heart, it onward strays
Through many a dust-strewn chamber, till at last
To a window looking outwards it has passed;
And there the whole toilsome earth with one long gaze
Sees, and, borne downward on the trumpet-blast,
Hears God's oracular answer: "Work and Praise."

W. T. Arnold.

(*Spectator*, May 23, 1874.)

With regard to this latter poem, and also to the remark already quoted from his friend Edward Allen, as to the apparent absence of the religious motive during his Rugby years, perhaps a few words may be said here once for all as to his attitude towards religion and religious questions. He was naturally religious, and in a very real sense, naturally Christian, in spite of intellectual difficulty. "Notwithstanding his extreme reserve on deepest things," said one who knew him intimately, "an under-lying craving for religious help and certainty was a marked characteristic of him throughout his life." It found expression in a saying of his, near the end, to a younger friend and colleague, in the heyday of strength,—'I can't understand how one can go far in life without religion,'—and on the threshold of manhood, this natural tendency was much quickened by the experience which love brought him. His sympathy in his later years was increasingly with those who believed, and he was much drawn to and touched by the Christian life, wherever he came across it. Though affected by German criticism, he was quick to notice any of those tendencies in it which strengthened the traditional view, as when Professor Harnack endorsed, in the main, the traditional dates of the New Testament, or spoke of Christ as 'unique.' Arnold's early letters are full of religious expression, and though on him, as

on the generation to which he belonged, the historical and critical investigation of early Christianity acted with disturbing force, the innermost and abiding mind in him was a mind of faith. He longed for an assurance which often seemed denied him; but he never ceased to yearn for it, and at times he grasped it.

But let us return to Oxford,—and the struggle and disappointment of his second-class in Moderations, in the summer of 1873. The following lines were written in the July of that year, when he was still uncertain as to the result of his schools.

To E. L. B. Allen. Oxford, June 17, 1873.

I have quite made up my mind to getting a second (in Mods.). I have only been working for Mods. for the last six months, working hard, it is true, but then most men work for two years. I scarcely like to say how hard I worked for the last few weeks before Mods, somewhere between sixteen and twenty hours a day. I never had more than four hours sleep and generally not so much. The result will be out on one of the first days of July.

The dreaded failure overtook him, and after it he writes again—

I find it so much easier to work very hard for a short time than tolerably hard for a long time, and that's just what lost me my first in Mods. I wasn't exactly lazy but I would work at all sort of subjects except the ones I was told to work at. . . . One must understand that there are certain realities in life, and the man who refuses to face them and tries to ignore them must inevitably be smashed. They will be too strong for him. And the chief of these realities is work. I know how

terribly hard it is to get back the habit of work once lost, but it can be done, and once recovered the chain is worn lightly enough. . . . I have felt the truth of what I am saying so much myself that I can't help putting it down for your benefit.

More intimately and poignantly than in the letters to Edward Allen the bitter disappointment of his "Mods" second was expressed in the correspondence with Mrs. Wale, his future mother-in-law, which helped him through his year of probation. But it would be unprofitable to repeat these records of self-blame. Stormy natures are the richer for such checks and heart-searchings, and in the hope and ardour of his engagement Arnold found the spring of a new energy. Love-letters as such can rarely be quoted, but a few extracts will show the energy with which the young lover of twenty-one tried to lead his betrothed to share his own intellectual interests. He had the deepest and most chivalrous respect for women, and love itself would have been incomplete for him without intellectual sympathy. Miss Wale wishes to read, and to be guided; and this is how Arnold writes:

To H. M. L. W. Laleham, April 25, 1874.

The sum of what I think is shortly this. Mental work has two ends—to strengthen the character, to improve the mind. All honest work, however well-directed, will do the first, as for the second, each must judge for self. I can only say this. If you find that your work does not fill your mind, does not give you material for thought, doesn't seem to touch nearly upon your own experience and thoughts, and doesn't have the effect of making you look upon your life as a problem to be studied, and a history to be acted; doesn't in fact make you understand that there

is a problem; doesn't make you feel your fellowship with the rest of mankind, both of the living, and of the countless dead, whose blood is in your veins; then your work is not very greatly valuable to you. Perhaps you would be better employed in washing clothes or digging potatoes! The subject of all human learning is briefly this, the world and man. With these is, of course, intimately bound up the greatest of all knowledge, the knowledge of God. Suppose our study is man. What does this mean? A man is born, he lives, he dies. Where does he come from? Where does he go? What is his nature? What his powers? How does one man act upon another? . . . Busy yourself for a year or two in sharpening your mind, and trying its edge on all subjects. Get intellectual interests. Read all good books that come in your way with an omnivorous appetite. Don't try and be systematic just at present. Then after a while we may set forward together on the study of man. . . . . The grand fault of woman's education, it seems to me, is that they compose a great deal too much.

Here are some thoughts on "argument," which will illustrate his own character, and his impatience of hasty and immoderate statement.

Laleham, May 12, 1874.

. . . If you can't at once think of something to say to a plausible argument which you feel convinced is wrong, don't say something at once which you know to be an insufficient or inapplicable answer; but think over it, and if possible bring on the same subject again, with a better foundation of thought to go upon. No man ever reasoned rightly or well without taking trouble and thinking. When you hear a clever person saying what seem fine things, be sure that in nine cases out of ten those thoughts

do not, as seems to you, rise at once in his mind, and are then spoken—but are the result of previous meditation and argument with others, and again meditation. Clever talkers hardly ever come across a really new subject. Almost all conceivable subjects have been already thought over, and the conclusions formed are packed away in the pigeon-holes of the brain.

The following letter shows the growth of his historical temper. It is almost contemporary with the publication of Green's "Short History," by which the young Oxford of the moment had been deeply stirred. There are many references to the "Short History" in the letters.

Laleham, February 3, 1875

. . . Till one gets not only to know but to *feel* that the men and women of whom one reads were not puppets with dates attached to them whom a hard fortune compels one to know about, but creatures of flesh and blood like ourselves, "of like passions as we are," and that under all circumstances and disguises human nature has been fundamentally the same; till we can throw ourselves into their place and surround ourselves with their circumstances and ask ourselves how we should have acted in their place—better or worse?—should we have been able to mould and direct their circumstances as some of them did, or should we have been moulded and constrained like them?—given the circumstances, could we have done better than Magna Charta?—what side should we have taken in the Civil War?—what should we have thought of Marlborough and Pitt?—till we can at least put these questions to ourselves as necessary to be answered, history won't teach either our heads or our hearts much. To put these questions means that you have what is called an "historical

sense." Remember it is your own people of whom you read, that all these wars and struggles and changes and reforms and developments have produced *you* and *me*, and put us where we are, and surrounded us with the society in which we live. If I ask myself *Why* am I writing here at Oxford in 1875?—Well, to answer that question all history and all science must unroll themselves before me.

Meanwhile time slipped on, and the ordeal of "Greats" arrived. Arnold had worked hard, but as has been already said, he had not been able to concentrate himself with sufficient strictness on the subjects of the Schools, and before defeat came, he was already aware of it:

Laleham, November 19, 1875.

Somehow I feel I shan't see my name in the Firsts when the list comes out. So you must make up your mind not to be disappointed. Besides that I am not really the equal of the best men up here who get firsts, I think I hardly do myself justice in an examination. I can't write with the necessary speed and precision.

It is curious that a man whose "speed" and "precision," as a journalist, were in later life among his most remarkable characteristics should have felt this difficulty at Oxford. Meanwhile he was learning and feeling much—outside of lecture-rooms. The Oxford country is well caught in the following letter to Edward Allen:—

Oxford, October 28, 1872.

. . . : The day was bright and softly sunny, one of those delicious autumn days, with all the sweet scents and sounds of autumn in the warm air, which seem almost better than midsummer. About five miles from Oxford,

we got to the top of a slight eminence, and there looking onwards, as far as the eye could see, we saw a great plain stretching away lazily on all sides before us, bounded in the far distance by low sweeping ranges of blue hills, and covered in the greater part by a perfect waste of noble woods. Every tree singly is a glory of rich colour; imagine then the sight when a whole forest is one mass of splendid tints, the rich golden-yellow of the oak, and deep blood-red of the beech, not allowing one to decide which of all was the most beautiful. And all this under a bright sunny sky flecked with innumerable patches of cloud, all hurrying along under the strongly-blowing west wind, with the fresh smell of recent rain still in the air, and the keen cool wind blowing pleasantly about one's heated temples. Truly there is something else in the year worth having besides those "high midsummer pomps" of which Matt Arnold so pleasantly speaks.

A reading-party at Howtown, on Lake Ulleswater, in August, 1874, with his friend and tutor, Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, gave occasion for the following record of a Westmoreland walk:—

To H. W. Howtown, August 24, 1874.

. . . . After a while we made our way back, and three miles' walking brought us to Insedale Beck, which I have described. It was a little sombre and melancholy. After a few minutes we went on, meaning to come down into the valley, on the *other* side of the fell, and so make our walk a complete circuit. We stepped out, and all of a sudden, as we came to the edge of the high ground, I saw the most wonderful, glorious sight that my eyes have ever beheld. We could see four large valleys at one view, divided by the hills. Right in front of us was the range

of Helvellyn, over which the clouds hung low and black and ominous—its top swathed in rushing mist. Helvellyn ran on into Fairfield, which was hardly less magnificent, and the valleys of it, brightened as some of them were by the perpendicular shafts of light, shot into them by the sun from behind the edge of a dark storm-cloud, were a relief to the eye after the sombre majesty of Helvellyn. Far to the eastward was the dark mass of Skiddaw; to the west was Illbell, that big fellow *we* saw from the other side, and the long range of High Street. Straight below, at what seemed an immense distance, was the Kirkstone Valley, with its green pastures and ruddy ploughed lands. There was no sound except the unceasing roar of the distant waterfalls, and a rushing sound in the air which one might easily take to be made by the sweep of the great mists we could see driving across Helvellyn. But it is all indescribable. Remember all the feeling of solemnity and awe, all the gloom and glory of the mountains which you have ever yourself felt, and try to throw it into my weak words.

Two more "notes" of Oxford landscape will perhaps be welcome to those who know the fields and streams beloved of "Thyrsis" and the "Scholar Gipsy."

Lalcham, May 6, 1875.

. . . . Just before me lay the valley of the Thames. I could not see the river. But the dense woods and the wonderful fertility of the valley marked its course. Such a luxuriant wealth of variegated foliage! with here and there a vermilion roof peeping through, and the distant houses of ancient Wallingford view on my right and curling round behind me. The road ran straight on—a mere white ribbon through the great fields on either side,

green with the young wheat. A few miles on were the two knolls I was aiming at. Before long I was there. Oh, that heavenly little hill! It was all grass, quite golden with the buttercups, and falling on the east side into natural terraces with steep sides rising quickly from the plain. And on the very top such an exquisite little beech wood,—big forest trees, with no brushwood, only the soft mossy grass and the cowslips growing profusely round their grey roots. And the distant cuckoo, and the eerie noises of the great tree-trunks swaying in the wind, the only sounds. I got round to the east side, where I was sheltered from the wind, and could look and see. There lay old Father Thames, his blue windings glittering in the sun. To come suddenly upon that exquisite blue was such a delight to the eye. And there was Dorchester on the other side of the river, with its old red-tiled church, and to the north the Nuneham woods, concealing Oxford that lay beyond.

From the next we get a glimpse of one of the "Hare and Hounds" runs, by which he varied his book-work.

Oxford, November 6, 1876.

. . . . The day was fine, with cloud enough to accentuate the lights and darks, but not enough to make it in the least gloomy. Roberts and I set out at 3-15 from the station, took to the fields directly, and after a mile or so got over the palings into the sacred ground of Nuneham, through which place we ran for about four miles, now through wood, now over plough-land, and now along lawny park-land, startling the deer, and seeing often the rabbits rise just beneath our feet. I felt wonderfully fresh and fit, and ran with a strength and speed that surprised me. I led the other man throughout, without the least difficulty. It was delicious, speeding over that

elastic grass, with the fresh wholesome air filling one's lungs, and being given out not with the quick panting of distress, but with the strong regular beat that tells of wind and training. I never felt so young and so strong, and *so much in love!*

The following passage from a letter of '75, is a comment upon a visit to Mr. Coombe's famous collection of pictures, of which "The Light of the World" was for so long the chief treasure:—

To the same. Laleham, May 9, 1875.

. . . . I was pleased to find how greatly my knowledge and judgment in art matters had grown since I last saw these pictures, about two years ago. I was able to study them yesterday just as I should a poem, and take a much keener pleasure and delight in what was beautiful in them. Nothing is more delightful than to feel that one's nature has opened out in any such way as this, and that one has gained new capacities of happy and healthful pleasure. Do you remember our talking about this when we were last at Littleton, one bright wintry afternoon, as we were walking home by that Sunbury lane, watching the snow on the fields and noticing how intensely *brown* the trees looked, relieved against the snow and cold blue sky? On my way home from College lately I several times turned into the Taylor Gallery, and have been pleased to find myself taking a fresh and genuine pleasure in many of the Raphael sketches, above all, those of Michael Angelo, whereas it is not so very long since looking through them was little more than a duty task and rather a bore. Now I am beginning to find out the wonderful freshness and youthfulness and force there often is about these direct translations of the painter's struggling thought, before it

was bound down and perhaps enfeebled in the complete and laboriously-wrought picture.

To the same. Oxford, March 20, 1876.

I have been reading a good deal of Mazzini lately, and mean to read everything of his. He is the most inspiring and elevating of all teachers—perpetually insisting on Duty in contradistinction to Happiness, and with the tenderest feeling for his fellow-men.

The two following extracts show him happily at work as a lecturer to women students. Those were the days immediately preceding the foundation of the Oxford Colleges for Women, when the Higher Education of Women was still comparatively a new cry, and a general stir of lecturing was going on all over the country in which Arnold's brother-in-law, Humphry Ward, had for some years been taking much part, while Arnold was a new recruit in the cause:—

To Miss Wale. 5, King Edward Street, January 10, 1877.

. . . . I have been reading Shelley most of to-day. He is wonderful, wonderful! And to think that I hardly knew him! I read him through at school, as I believe I read *every* English poet, but was, of course, entirely unable to understand or appreciate him. I have nearly finished "Prometheus Unbound," which I am not sure that I should not call the most beautiful poem in the world.

To the same. Oxford, February 3, 1877.

I finished the big volume of Gray's Letters yesterday evening. I think that, though I say it that shouldn't, the next will be a good lecture. I have got a vast amount

of interesting material. I read through all those letters to supply myself with six short quotations. But then they will come in so happily that it would have been worth while to read half a dozen such volumes. I am going to do the same with Pope's letters. In this way I get all sorts of pointed little illustrations of their real ideas of poetry and nature. . . . . As my experience widens I feel more and more that a general style of lecturing is felt to be vague and leaves little impression, if it is not *lit up* in this sort of way.

Arnold took his degree early in 1876, and by the middle of 1877 he had already secured enough work as a "coach" and lecturer to make it prudent to marry. His wife was the daughter of the late Mr. Charles Wale, J.P., and granddaughter on her father's side of General Sir Charles Wale, K.C.B., a member of an old Cambridgeshire family settled at Little Shelford, near Cambridge. Her mother, as we have said, was Henrietta Whately, now the only surviving daughter of the famous Archbishop. The Liberal and Evangelical traditions of the family mingled very naturally with those of his own kindred.

The young couple settled in lodgings at Oxford, and Arnold had no lack of pupils. But new powers and ambitions were stirring in him. He was developing his historical knowledge and learning German; and when the subject of the Arnold Essay for 1878 was announced as "Roman Provincial Administration," the younger Arnold threw himself into the competition for the prize with a student's ardour, made all the keener by a very natural wish to prove himself worthy of his grandfather's name, and by the desire to retrieve what he looked upon as his failure in Greats. He won the prize (January, 1879), producing a book which has ever since kept its place

as the chief English authority on a great subject. A new edition of the Essay, prepared by Mr. Evelyn Shuckburgh, will shortly be published, and I must leave to Mr. Shuckburgh, as well as to the editors of my brother's Roman History fragments published in this volume, the task of appraising its historical and critical value. But I may recall here that when the Essay was first published in 1879, Mark Pattison, no mean judge, and one who measured his words, spoke with warm admiration of the "extent of reading" which it showed, and the "exactitude" with which it had been carried through; while a few years later, M. Waddington, Ambassador and archæologist, praised it as "a very good summary of a subject little known and little worked out in England." Arnold always intended to issue later an enlarged and corrected edition, including the manifold notes and additions he had gathered, as the harvest of continuous reading, into his interleaved copy. But with this, as with later projects, the scholar's fastidious search after perfection interfered. In the very last months of his life he recurred with eagerness to the hope of a second edition—"before I die." But it was not to be; and the re-issued book, enlarged by many of the notes he collected, will owe its revision to a friend's care. But it is good to remember that a reference to it, twenty-five years after its publication, by a high Indian official, as throwing light on some of the problems of Indian frontier administration, was one of the pleasures of his last weeks on earth.

After this success it would seem natural that Arnold should have remained at Oxford, and become the "student and bookworm" he had foreseen as a boy. But other chances opened. In 1879 the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. C. P. Scott, came to Oxford in search of a new member for the staff of what is perhaps the most

important provincial newspaper in England. Through Mr. Humphry Ward, Arnold's brother-in-law, the two were brought together. Mr. Scott was struck by the wide range of Arnold's interests, and attracted by his personality. He asked him to come to Manchester on trial. The young couple went there first in the summer of 1879; the work proved congenial to Arnold, and by the autumn we find him fairly in harness, writing regular leaders and Art criticism, and throwing himself besides into that miscellaneous enrichment of the paper from all sources which made both his duty and his happiness through the years which followed. After settling in Manchester, the Arnolds lived till the autumn of 1886 at 226, Plymouth Grove, and thenceforth at 75, Nelson Street—"a house," Arnold wrote to his mother, "nearer town, but in a much prettier street, with a really charming, old-fashioned garden, and all our friends who have seen it are most congratulatory of our luck." A Manchester friend writes:—"Arnold rejoiced in this old house,* at one time the home of John Owens, who founded Owens College, and a legible memorandum of an earlier social state; justly proportioned, solidly built of mellow red brick, snug rather than large, with a modest stable, capacious cellars, and a high-walled garden like a convent's, it recorded a time when the Manchester spinner or merchant no longer dwelt over his warehouse and had not yet taken a manor in Cheshire, but lived in quiet comfort, a mile or two from 'Change, riding in to business on his cob and shooting snipe at a few minutes' walk from his door."

Arnold's removal to Manchester, heartily as we rejoiced in it, was to myself a real personal loss. He and I, during our grown-up years, had seen too little of each

* Recently demolished. The original number of the house was 10.

other. We had been close companions as children; then, after our father's return to England, began long years of school for both of us; and our holidays were very seldom spent together. We were both bookish, confident, and argumentative!—and there was very little daily contact to make each acquainted with the sensitive points of the other. But he came up to Oxford in 1871, and I married and settled in Oxford during the following year, and from that time a new relation began. In a precious letter, written after his last illness had declared itself, he describes the effect upon him of his gradual realisation at Oxford of my affection for him; while for me this revived companionship and understanding were among the chief joys of an expanding life. After he went to Manchester, I watched his development with ever-increasing pride and delight. He counselled me in literary or historical work: he was the first to prophesy the success of *Robert Elsmere;* he wrote to me of his own schemes and plans; and we met as often as the busy life of both households permitted.

But if we missed him from Oxford, where our own lot was cast for ten years, it was soon clear how well fitted he was for that part in the life of a great manufacturing town to which he had been called. From the beginning he made Manchester interests his own. The vast machinery of Manchester trade and manufacture, its economic bearings, and its human implications; Manchester art and music; or the plays given at Manchester theatres; the neighbouring country, its moors and streams, and woods on which the mills encroached year by year; Lancashire dialect and Lancashire poets; Lancashire birds and flowers; the growth of Owens College, the development of an Art Gallery, the preservation of local traditions; [illegible]

his eager mind, almost from the first. At different times he refused two offers of posts in London and Oxford, that must have tempted one to whom access to the British Museum or the Bodleian would have meant so much. He was influenced by attachment to journalism and his paper, but also by his wife's and his own love for "T' Owd Smoky"—a local expression which he often liked to use, analogous to the "Auld Reekie" of northern fame.

As one turns over the voluminous collection of what he wrote in the early years of his work on the *Guardian*, one sees that before he was entrusted with a share in the chief leaders of the papers—those on the current political topics of greatest importance,—he made his mark, first by the growth of that extraordinary command over foreign languages and the foreign press, of which Mr. Montague will have much to say later on; and, secondly, by the keen intelligence he brought to bear on local topics. In his very first year, we find him familiar with French, German, Italian and Spanish newspapers and reviews; not overburdened by them; but making shrewd, popular, effective use of them as sources of information; while his wide range of outside knowledge made his handling of local affairs all the more vivacious. Meanwhile he steadily informed himself on the main political questions. Those were indeed stirring years. The Liberal Ministry of 1880 came into power immediately after Arnold's migration to Manchester. Ireland and the Land League, Mr. Forster's Administration, the Phœnix Park murders, "Parnellism and Crime," the Land Act, and the Home Rule Bill, the great disruption of 1886, and the inauguration of the long Tory Rule—Majuba, Arabi, Gordon,—these are the names and memories, which for us of middle life, leap like flame-points on the dark as we look back on these years. In all that

[redacted] passionate

sympathies were concerned. In 1880, the *Guardian* sent him to Ireland to report on Irish distress. He went through some of the worst and most disturbed districts, and when, later in the year, Arnold's uncle by marriage, Mr. Forster, took office as Chief Secretary for Ireland, Arnold studied the course of Irish affairs with a peculiar and painful interest. But, like many other Liberals, he could not ultimately follow Mr. Forster; Mr. Gladstone captured him; and he became and remained a Home Ruler. The daily political articles of twenty years ago hardly bear quoting, but I may repeat here perhaps the words of emotion in which the young journalist and scholar described for his paper the never to be forgotten scene of Lord Frederick Cavendish's funeral, in the green churchyard of Edensor:—

"May, 1882.

"Some of the familiar words (in the Burial Service) came with a new meaning, and a deeper hush fell upon the crowd, as the voice rose full and clear: 'In the midst of life we are in death.' The chief mourners were grouped as before round the open grave, the Duke of Devonshire and Lady Frederick Cavendish on the north side, opposite them the Marquis of Hartington, behind, the clergyman, Lord Edward Cavendish, and Mr. Gladstone. The sun was shining at the time, with the mellow radiance of a soft spring day, and the Premier held his hat in his right hand to shade his eyes against its rays. As the crowd was on his right, this unconscious manœuvre partially concealed the workings of his face, from the thousands of eyes that were intently watching him. But as the service ended, and Mr. Gladstone stepped for a moment to the edge of the grave, the hands were held down, and the look of sad resignation on the face will live in many a memory. Perhaps the more eyes were directed to the Premier as it

was not possible for the stoutest heart to look at the nearest relatives of the dead man without something of a feeling of intrusion upon sacred grief. As the Duke of Devonshire led Lady Frederick Cavendish away, the other mourners followed, and the crowd surged in towards the grave. Almost everyone present had a glimpse, if only for a moment, of the coffin, or at all events of its black velvet pall, covered inches deep with white roses and other flowers, and thus saw the last that any man will see this side of the grave of the loyal friend and gallant gentleman, and zealous well-doer, who was in all the vigour of life and health but five short days ago. And as those who had seen this sight, and who knew something of the honour and simple nobleness of the man who lay there, turned away from his open grave, some such epitaph rose in the minds of many as came to the lips of the Roman historian in commemorating the virtues of Rome's most spotless son: *Qui nunquam recte fecit ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat.*"

With every year that passed the paper naturally gave him more important work to do. He was soon its most powerful and trusted contributor; he threw his young strength ungrudgingly into its service, thinking no effort too great for the upholding of its reputation and efficiency. At the same time he maintained from the beginning the literary and historical interests of his own personal life which he had brought with him from Oxford. Some time in 1881, he agreed to write for Mr. Murray one of the series of "Students' Manuals," then appearing under the editorship of Dr. William Smith. My brother's Manual was to deal with the history of the early Empire, from Actium to Marcus Aurelius, and with all the eagerness of his youth he entered on a project which, passing through various transformations, in the end filled all the

leisure hours of fifteen years, and was still only begun, so far as final execution was concerned, when the illness which killed him overtook him. "I am working away at my history," he writes to his brother Theodore on September 25th, 1881, "perhaps they have told you that Murray has asked me to do a 'Students' Roman Empire.' I suppose it will be out in three or four years." But—in the language of a friend, who was also a close observer of his life—"his full scholarship burst the narrow vessel; handbooks, to be done at all, must be what an expert feels to be rough-and-ready; Arnold tried vainly to pack into a handbook his gatherings from inscriptions and other early sources, from German monographs and specialist reviews. The handbook was abandoned, and from that time his purpose was to write an exhaustive history of the early Empire, for which the whole of the original evidence and all that has been written on it should be passed through the sieve of a serious scholarship. For the rest of his life he worked at Roman history, penetrating pretty soon to the austerer region where all the companionship is that of a few specialists. As he went on, indeed, the specialist's habit deepened; he concentrated on a briefer period, and the call to first-hand work on the foundations of the evidence grew more imperious."

Almost at the same moment, however, when he began what was to be the historical work of his life, another and kindred idea occurred to him, suggested partly by his work and partly by family affection. For many English minds, writes the friend I have already quoted, it was the work of his grandfather, "the elder Thomas Arnold, which had first raised Roman history from the dead. It had for some time been William Arnold's wish to fortify that rousing fragment against

supersession; if he could, to complete it; at any rate to save its place in the esteem of scholars by bringing it abreast with later knowledge." In the autumn of 1881, I find a letter from him to me, which mentions this idea, as well as other interests of the time:—

"I have suggested to Aunt Forster,"[1] he writes to me, "a one-volume edition of the grandfather's history, and have offered to write an introduction. . . . Apparently the copyright expires in a year or two, and, as Uncle Matt says, it will be necessary to be ready then. I want to point out what the Germans think of the book, and what line research has taken since. . . .

". . . The history moves, that is the reading does. For I shan't put pen to paper for three years. *Entre nous*, I have come to the conclusion that we in England know absolutely nothing of the history of the Empire. It has to be largely reconstructed from epigraphic sources, and of these hardly anything is known in this country. You know my opinion of Merivale, and will therefore understand the satisfaction with which I read the other day in a first-rate German book: "Die Bücher von Duruy und Merivale sind Compilationen mittelmässiger Güte." And yet most people take Merivale seriously as a sort of Gibbon! . . . I am rather perturbed about what you say as to ——'s thinking I should have got better terms,"—*i.e.*, from the publishers who were to bring out the Roman History volume—"But, then, you see, in the first place, I was only too glad of the opportunity of producing a book on the subject on any terms. I would, in fact, have done it for nothing. All the reading goes for the real subject of my heart—the history of the world under Rome. The interleaved

1. Mrs. W. E. Forster, Dr. Arnold's eldest daughter, and at this date his literary representative.

edition of my book (the Arnold Essay) is already crammed with additions and corrections, and I look forward to a second edition some day.

"I see I am getting egotistical. So by way of revenge you must tell me how *your* book is getting on. I can give you some good authorities on Roman Spain if you want them. Don't attempt too much journalism. It is already difficult enough for the mother of a family, and mistress of a house, to do serious work as well, without further tying yourself when you are not obliged. You are in the at once happy and unhappy position of having put the German standard before yourself in these matters, and you know what that means. . . .

"I read your Spain and Africa article (in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, then under Mr. Morley's editorship). It was translated in the *Débats*. My impression is that Spain would fight for Morocco. I am at bottom somewhat heterodox about the African question, though I keep it dark! I suppose much Roman Empire reading is calculated to make one grudge the loss of the northern coast to Europe. I only regret France's *way* of doing the job, and allow that it was not worth her while to quarrel with Italy for Tunis. It will be lucky if all Europe is not by the ears about Africa in the next generation."

His scheme, however, for a new edition of the complete "History of Rome," was ultimately modified into a new edition of those chapters in the "History" concerned with the Second Punic War; and this book appeared in 1886, winning the warm praise of experts, classical and geographical—such as Mr. Douglas Freshfield—for the care and learning which had been lavished on the notes, so as to include—or indicate—all the additions made to knowledge since the original publication, on matters like

the battles of the Trebia and Lake Trasimene, Hannibal's passage of the Alps, and the geographical capacity of Polybius.

Besides this task, and the continuous work on the bigger scheme, from 1886 to 1895, he contributed to the "English Historical Review" several long notices of books on ancient history. Among these the minute criticism of Mommsen's volume on "The Provinces, from Cæsar to Diocletian," in 1886, (E. H. R., Vol. i., p. 350), and the study of Professor Ramsay's "Church in the Roman Empire," and Dr. E. G. Hardy's "Christianity and the Roman Empire," in 1895 (Vol. x., p. 456) are perhaps the most noteworthy.[1]

But in the new passion for Roman history the old passion for English poetry was not forgotten. Before he left Oxford, he had already edited the first book of "Hyperion" for the Clarendon Press, and this was followed in 1884 by an edition, in one volume, of "The Poetical Works of John Keats," with an Introduction, dealing mainly with the sources of the Keatsian diction, to which Arnold gave untiring work. In this charming book he reprinted the Keats volumes of 1817, 1818, and 1820, *i.e.*, all the poems published by Keats himself in his lifetime, together with a selection from the posthumous poems. The volume, though beautifully printed and arranged, was not a financial success, and probably suffered from the fact that Mr. Buxton Forman's exhaustive four-volume edition had appeared only a few

1. Arnold's other contributions to the "English Historical Review" include reviews of J. P. Mahaffy's "Greek World under Roman Sway, from Polybius to Plutarch," in 1892 (vol. vii., p. 124); the second volume of Henry Furneaux's edition of the "Annals" of Tacitus, in 1893 (vol. viii., p. 538); W. Warde Fowler's "Julius Cæsar and the Foundation of the Roman Imperial System," on p. 746 of the same volume, and H. F. Tozer's "Selections from Strabo," in 1895 (vol. x., p. 116).

months before it.[1] At the same time, the book remains for the lover of Keats one of the most convenient and stimulating of editions. Mr. Sidney Colvin says of it, in the Preface to his own study of Keats: "The Introduction to this edition contains the only attempt with which I am acquainted at an analysis of the formal elements of Keats's style." Arnold's old friend and tutor, Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, the well-known author of the *Logic*, and translator of Lotze and Hegel, wrote to him: "I always said the function of the critic was *imprimis* to tell one something true, and build up doubtful theories afterwards if he pleased. Now I am much the wiser for your Introduction; and as a rule I spend much bad language on literary criticism, and come out of it with a soured temper. All that about Keats' knowledge of country is most jolly, and is an excursion into the higher range of criticism." Matthew Arnold writes a few words of characteristic reservation and characteristic praise, very grateful—these last!—to the young nephew who both loved the author of "Thyrsis" as a kinsman, and passionately admired him as a writer. "I have looked through the Preface—very good! One can hardly speak with too much delight of him; but how few pages suffice to contain all of his work which truly gives this delight! I never turn over the leaves without discontent at finding how much space is taken by *Endymion*." And Mr F. T. Palgrave writes to Matthew Arnold that he has found in the book "a great knowledge of our early writers," which he thinks the editor might use "to great advantage if he turned his mind to editing any of the neglected Elizabethans." Thus encouraged and welcomed

[1] My brother's edition was, in fact, completed long before the publication of Mr. Buxton Forman's book. But its appearance was delayed by the accidental destruction of the whole first MS. of the Introduction and Notes by a fire on the publisher's premises.

by a few of the discerning, the book went on its way. Arnold remained to the end of his life a votary of the qualities he most admired in Keats—simplicity, natural magic, the power of the right word, together with the "sweet and easy slipping movement," common to both Keats and to Spenser, the love of his boyhood.

So much for the details of these early years of manhood. If I look back upon the impression he made upon his family and friends during this time, I see him standing before the fire in the drawing-room of the pleasant house in Nelson Street,—alert and vigorous, his broad shoulders somewhat overweighted by the strong, intellectual head, his dark eyes, full of fun and affection, beaming on the guest who had just arrived, perhaps, from the south,—delighting in the family gossip which brought his family information up to date, or listening with quick sympathy to literary plans and projects. When it came to his turn, he would talk eagerly, in his crisp, humorous, broken way, of his own current interests, of men and books, or of some new development in the *Guardian* which promised to bring it more closely into touch with local needs, or abreast of modern knowledge. You felt his ambition for the paper; you realised also the shrewd and practical form into which he threw them. After dinner, one said good-bye to him; he went off to the *Guardian* office, and did not re-appear till the small hours. But next morning one would find him in his study, smoking happily over the latest German volume on his history of the Empire, one dog on his knees and another at his feet, the walls round him filled with the rapidly accumulating and well-read books, which were at once the landmarks and the instruments of his life. In these morning hours he was the scholar; the journalist was laid aside. No use then to hurry him!—to ask when the book he had promised Dr. Smith was to come

out. His brown eyes, in which a good-humoured laugh seemed to be always latent, simply—on this point—evaded you. What was the good of publication—of finishing—of anything but digging ever deeper into the roots of things,—penetrating fresh subtleties of the Roman mind and administration, "unseen by the Germans yet?" His morning mood was not his evening mood. The more rapid was the journalist, the more leisurely was the scholar. The two sides of his life completed and balanced each other; at least so far as the quality of his work was concerned. His journalism profited by his research, and *vice versa*. But undoubtedly the very stress under which his newspaper work had to be done, strengthened the fastidious temper of the *savant*. In his historical work he felt himself free to linger; and the lingering grew upon him, till his illness overtook him, with the *magnum opus* of his life, from which the fragments contained in this book are taken, only begun.

In these days and nights of perpetual brain-work, however, there were many fresh-air interludes. Every fine Saturday Arnold and his wife would take train out of Manchester,—to some point where moors and woods began, whence a bit of Roman road, perhaps, was to be reached, or an "edge" climbed, or a water-shed explored. Of the wide knowledge of country thus gained, evidence will be found later on. And to this local knowledge and love of northern England, he was soon to add the knowledge and love of many places abroad. Mrs. Arnold's family had an old affection for the Lake of Geneva, and with Glion and Clarens, with the Rochers de Naye, and Jaman "delicately tall," Arnold became familiar in the years of his engagement, and those immediately following his marriage. But soon more ambitious flights became possible. He saw Venice for the first time in 1887, again in 1888, and Rome in 1889.

And always and everywhere, he beheld new country or new cities with the same keen eyes and the same unspoilt delight he had brought them as a youth. The historical sense. and the geographical eye went with him as they had gone with his grandfather, Arnold of Rugby, on a similar quest.

Certainly, as one looks at these ten years of his early manhood, one can but feel that they were years of great happiness and rich activity. Politically the cause of Ireland lay nearest his heart. To that, as we have seen, his chief work on the *Guardian* was devoted. Through all the great moments of the long battle—the Gladstonian Land Act, the struggle with the Land League and the Irish members, the Home Rule fight, Mr. Balfour's administration, and the Parnell Commission—he was the main spokesman of the paper. He fought hard and long, with fairness, consistency, and courage. Mr. Balfour's political personality was clearly uncongenial to him, but for Lord Hartington, and even for Mr. Chamberlain, heartily as he disagreed with them both, he has many a generous and even admiring word. For Mr. Gladstone—except through the "Egyptian Muddle," which as he says "almost made me a Tory"—his admiration was deep and steady; and after the defeat of 1886, a new note, intimate and "touched with emotion" enters into the political support he gave the beaten minister. Next to Imperial politics came the claims of Manchester. For the first ten years of his connection with the *Guardian* he reported every Art Exhibition that was held in Manchester, and took a special and patriotic interest in the doings of Manchester artists. One of these artists gives an account, in an interesting sketch now lying before me, of the foundation of the Brasenose Club, which was meant to provide a meeting place for young writers, painters, and musicians. "Mr. Arnold," he

says, "joined the club soon after his arrival in Manchester, and at once became a leader in the artistic circle, and by personal intercourse made himself acquainted with the aims and capacities of the individual members." The writer goes on to record his obligation and gratitude for the increased recognition which the local art began at once to obtain in the columns of the *Guardian*. The appreciation and earnestness of the *Guardian* notices, the pains taken, and the knowledge shown, were "new to the public," and "commanded the respect of the artists."

"It is impossible to judge how much of the great revival of interest in the art of painting which took place in Manchester during the eighties was due to Mr. Arnold"; but "it is certain that his influence was very great. While he was with us the Corporation accepted the gift of the Art Galleries to the City. The School of Art was built, and many changes and important affairs took place. He took an active part in all." Thus was his boyish passion for art deepened, justified and made effective, through his work as a journalist. It was the same with the theatre, and a short collection of reprinted articles on "The Manchester Stage," issued in 1898, written by W. T. Arnold, C. E. Montague, Oliver Elton and A. N. Monkhouse, show with what conscience and eagerness the young writers on the *Guardian* tried to support the claims of good work and competent acting, always with an eye to wide horizons and general ideas. For music, though Arnold was not musical, there was the same general sympathy, the same warm support. All that made for beauty and the higher joys, for those ideal ends that shine above "the tumult of our war," touched him now as they had touched his youth, only with a deeper power. He had passed like Keats out of "the Chamber of Maiden Thought" into those chambers of experience, where "axioms are proved upon our pulses"; but beauty and poetry were

still with him, still the lights upon his way, as he did his daily work in the dark Manchester streets.

Of things more intimate there can be but little to say. His married life was exceptionally happy, based upon a sympathy of ideas and aims unusually complete. His younger brother, F. S. Arnold, settled as a doctor in Manchester, not very long after his own migration, and the bond between them, which had been very close in boyhood, became closer still. His father, who became a Fellow of the Royal Irish University in 1880, would often pause at Manchester on his journeys between Dublin and Oxford, and in spite of their differing religious or political beliefs—Thomas Arnold had re-entered the Church of Rome in 1896—father and son were both of those spirits whom the world cannot tame, and so were linked through all division, whether of occupation or opinion. The spiritual face of the father, his gentle, hesitating ways, were in sharp outward contrast with the rugged, intellectual strength of the son; yet no doubt Arnold owed some of his most characteristic qualities to his father. His mother died in 1888, after many years of suffering. He was with her just before the end, and he realised with her other children the pathos of her death after a life of many rebuffs and bitter disappointments, just as the lives of those whom she had borne—in every detail of which she had taken a passionate interest—were gaining new joys and powers which might have been shared with her. Arnold's own house was childless; nevertheless a growing boy or girl was always to be found in it. Some nephews or nieces, whose parents lived abroad, shared the Nelson Street home in due succession, and went to school in Manchester. In the details of their school-work, games, and general developement, their uncle took a keen interest, and was repaid by their loyal affection. And outside the claims of family, there were other claims to which Arnold never failed to

respond, claims of misfortune, of poverty, of the stranger within our gates. The house was seldom without guests. In December, 1881, he writes to an old schoolfellow:—

"We had a lively time all the summer,—three months' sunshine—fancy that in Manchester!—a great picture exhibition, the British Association, etc. We had a constant stream of visitors, including a Frenchman of thirty-five, a very nice fellow, a brilliant French lady of fifty, a French boy of eighteen,—awful good sort, and great fun—and two Russian professors, who stayed a week, and, according to the veracious Elizabeth," (their faithful parlourmaid), "did not wash *once* all that time, besides smoking all day in their bedrooms."

Of many of the things he did, he would not have liked me to speak. They were the "little nameless unremembered acts" which sweeten life. But one charity was patent to all the world. The stray or starving four-footed creatures that found shelter in Nelson Street could not be hid. Any benighted stray that appealed to him as he walked home between midnight and 2 a.m. was offered food and lodging. On March 9th, 1886, he reports to Mrs. Arnold, then away from home:—

"Last night, coming up the Grove, about midnight, I saw a strange beast loafing about,—called 'Benson,' and was rewarded by a frantic *courbature*, and jumping around, which must nearly have dislocated the animal's spine. Took him home and gave him biscuits, then water, of which he drank *pints*. The poodles smelt him, and remonstrated loudly from the kitchen. Took him up to my room with the idea of giving him a bit of my bed, but he was so awkward and nervous, and made such a row that I had reluctantly to turn him out again. He seemed fat and in good case, and only shut out of his own home by accident."

On country walks he would watch for the first fine frenzy with which a town dog resumes possession of the open earth. "There was lots of snow about," he writes to Mrs. Arnold on April 1st, 1883, "and Kinder was really beautiful. We walked back across the mountain. Lovely day and most enjoyable. The only drawback was that Bendy" (a bull-terrier) "would *not* go mad; for that apparently your presence is necessary."

And Arnold's hatred of vivisection was the public expression of this aspect of his home life. He held that vivisection was immoral, and that what ethics forbade science could not legalise; and, although he knew well that men as humane as himself were in the opposite camp, his own view never wavered. The following letter written to a near relation gives full expression to it. It is dated May 29th, 1890:—

"You sympathise with the crusade against 'cruelty in vivisection,' and joyful I was to read the words, for I had imagined that the difference between us went down to the roots. But the very point of my letter was that vivisection necessarily implies cruelty, that English vivisection is, to a large extent, cruel vivisection. . . . You see in my mind 'a certain callousness to *human* suffering.' That is a charge which it is clearly not for me to answer. But I can assure you that if it is just, the fault is my natural depravity, and not at all in my championship of the beasts. I am sure I am less callous than I should be if I did not trouble myself about them. And then surely the remark has no value if it is merely personal to myself. My own experience has been that the people who care for humans most, and whose sympathy is warmest and surest, are those who care for the beasts. The Committee of the Anti-

Vivisection and the Prevention of Cruelty Society here include the names of the hardest philanthropical workers in the place. There is, in fact, no falser view of human nature than to assume that sympathy is in the nature of a limited reservoir, and that to give so much to the animals is to take so much from the humans. On the contrary, the more sympathy is exercised, the more of it there is to exercise."

On this subject, indeed, his feeling was so strong that he would speak of it only seldom and briefly, even to close friends. He evidently found a difficulty in discussing it offhand without losing the balance that he always strove to maintain between strength of feeling and restraint in statement. For the qualities which he most often mentioned with admiration were, besides courage, the Aristotelian "moderation" and "excellent seriousness." His own practice in this respect is seen in the precepts of an intimate letter written by him on December 27th, 1895:—

"I have been contradictious and disagreeable these last few days. It is the pedagogue in me which needs subduing. But also you do state views too rashly and absolutely. It isn't the fashion of our time to do so. However dogmatic and pig-headed *au fond*, almost all educated people are tentative and deprecatory and suggestive rather than affirmative on the surface. So that your sweeping, affirmative manner surprises and startles a little. I don't attach excessive importance to all that. But what is more important is that you do not give the impression of having considered the other side, or of having realised that there is another side. Even the vivisector has his point of view, from which he contrives some sort of moral justification of

himself in his own mind, and if one is to influence uncommitted people one must consent to understand such points of view, *quitte*, of course, to repudiate and contest them afterwards. Truth is a delicate, elusive thing, and heat and dogmatism are poor helps to get it."

In 1890, Mr. C. E. Montague joined the *Guardian*. He was thenceforward so intimately linked with my brother in work and friendship, that the story of the next six years belongs to him. To him also the detailed account of my brother's methods of a journalist; in which he will speak with a knowledge and vividness no member of Arnold's family could possibly rival. Before he takes up the pen, however, I may perhaps conclude this sketch of the early Manchester years by a few quotations from later letters to me, written before 1898, and one to Miss Arnold of Fox How, which may be of interest to those who have followed the preceding pages with sympathy.

The following passage was occasioned by my story of Bessie Costrell," which I sent to him in February, 895:—

". . . I have read your story with that painful and yet salutary stir of mind which the deeper things of literature evoke,—and the last pages with an uncomfortable constriction of the throat. It is no doubt one of the best things you have done,—all the figures very definite and living, and the kind of opium-dream *before* detection, and futilities of a trapped animal *after* it, almost painfully true. How curiously hard literature is on these butterfly existences, which by a kind of ignorance more than choice of evil, beat themselves against the walls of circumstance, and under happier conditions would have been blameless enough. How

hard Shakespeare is on the immoderation and passionate egoism of Romeo and Juliet!—though there is nothing worse one can say of them."

In the spring of 1896, just before his breakdown in health, he writes: "I have been much preoccupied of late with questions of style and architectonics, and have come to see that merely to write an accurate modern book on the Roman Empire isn't worth while. What I have to do, if possible, is to write a book with lots of air and ideas in it, and a style! Hitherto I have divided my work into separate parts,—journalism, which has to be readable, and historical *Wissenschaft*, in which I have not troubled myself about readableness at all. Now, that won't do, and if I can summon up the requisite energy I look forward to recasting considerably what I have done, and making a much more resolute bid for *interest*. Meanwhile I am reading widely, and trying to fathom how 'the other fellows' do it."

Pathetic aspiration!—written just as life was breaking beneath his feet. The earlier sentences of the letter speak of "rheumatism,"—the first attack in truth of the illness which killed him.

In the autumn of 1897, he wrote *à propos* of a small address of mine: —

"I think you took the right point about Socialism. If the world of occupation is to be divided into two circles, covering between them the whole ground—thus:

Collectivism	Individual Enterprise

it does not much matter whether the former gain here and there from the latter when reason and experience

justify it. As long as there is the *alternative* circle, the socialistic tyranny will be impossible. What is to be resisted to the death is any *a priori* attempt to make the first circle cover all the ground."

A remark which may be conveniently compared here with another passage in a letter written to a friend several years later:—

"One of the general conclusions that has emerged from my reading of all these Germans is that German economists have ceased, or are ceasing, to take Socialism seriously. They regard it as played out. Its logical basis was Marxism, and Marxism has been exploded—a Socialist named Bernstein, oddly enough, contributing largely to the work. Of course there are facts like the large Socialistic poll in Germany on the other side. Still, the German economists regard the movement as stricken with death, and no longer of the first importance."

The long letter which follows, the last I shall quote of those written before his illness, was written in April, 1896, to Miss Arnold, of Fox How, Dr. Arnold's youngest surviving daughter. Readers of Stanley's *Life* of Arnold, will remember the statement that in 1820, Thomas Arnold, then twenty-five, "married Mary, youngest daughter of the Rev. John Penrose, Rector of Fledborough, in Nottinghamshire." This "Mary Penrose," Mathew Arnold's mother, was the gracious grandmother to whom, as we have seen, William Arnold, as child and boy, had cherished a peculiar attachment. He had always felt a special interest in the Penrose records, and in the story of his grandfather's marriage. Certain charming verses written by Arnold of Rugby during his engagement to Mary Penrose remain; and there are some contemporary pictures of the life of the small Fledborough parsonage

as it was about 1810, with its mingling of plain—the plainest—living, and high cultivation, its gentle studious father, and its bevy of girls, one ironing, one sewing, while another read aloud "The Lady of the Lake" or "Marmion" just fresh from the press. William Arnold had long wished to make a pilgrimage to Fledborough, and in the spring weather of 1896 he set out there:—

"We took the train to Retford on the Great Northern, and then rode the seven miles southwards along the Great Road to Tuxford. On the way we passed the villages of Gainston and Markham (suggestive of 'Mrs. Markham'),[1] and after lunching at Tuxford, interesting as the place where anyone bound for Fledborough in the old days must have left the great coach road to plunge into the wilds, we set out due east. Four miles or so of a very lonely country road, or rather lane, with endless masses of primroses in the hedge banks, brought us to a three-lane-ends, and on one arm of the decrepid signpost was 'To Fledborough only.' The road was bad, so we took to the path, and after another mile saw the low steeple of Fledborough, dismounted at the gate, and walked up the drive (as you know, church and rectory are all in one place, so to speak), which was lined with splendid wallflowers in full blow and fragrance, looked into the open church for a few minutes, and then to the rectory door and sent in your letter. Presently the maid told us to come in, and Mr. Kershaw made his appearance and very kindly welcomed us—a fresh-coloured, pleasant man and a gentleman. He is a widower, and there is only one child at home—a Repton schoolboy. He was just finishing some letters for the post, so we begged him to go on, while we went out to the Holm

1. "Mrs. Markham" was Mrs. Charles Penrose.

and down to the Trent. It was very pleasant and sunshiny and restful, and the broad Trent, with two fishing smacks moored hard by, quite imposing. You may imagine one thought of the young lovers of three-quarters of a century ago, and all the pleasant walks they must have had there! But as one looked southwards there was a mighty change. The new East and West railway, starting from Chesterfield, to a point on the Lincolnshire coast, goes right through Fledborough, and we had been following its course all the way from Tuxford. It is being carried over the Trent meadows by a great viaduct of many arches as yet unfinished, and as one looks from the drawing-room windows of the Rectory these great arches—by no means ugly, happily—are the conspicuous object in the distance, perhaps a mile away. There will be a railway bridge, of course, across the Trent, and a Fledborough station, so that "Fledborough only" will be a thing of the past. By the way, Mr. Kershaw told us that the original form of the signpost was still better—"Fledborough and no further"—and that it was his predecessor, Mr. Neville, who had put up the "Fledborough only" some thirty years ago. He showed us all over the house, and carefully explained all the changes which had been made by himself and the Nevilles, so that we could realise the original home fairly well. Then we did the church thoroughly under his guidance, including, of course, your tiled floor, with the marble slab and inscription in the middle, and the plain stone inscribed John Penrose, and the little brass to him, and—perhaps most interesting of all—the register with the marriage in it, and the signatures of Thomas Arnold and Mary Penrose. Then there was the vine which your grandfather was pruning on the last day of his life, and in

the garden the wild yellow tulip of which Aunt Lydia speaks (tulipa silvestris). It does not apparently grow on the Holm any more, but has found a refuge in the rectory garden, and is regarded by Mr. Kershaw as quite indigenous. We begged a bulb, as we thought you might like it for the Fox How garden, and Frank, who carried it off, will be sending it you. Then Mr. Kershaw gave us tea, and we parted great friends, after a most successful little visit, which had not one unpleasant touch in it, as these attempts to give form and substance to a mind-picture, formed from reading and listening, so often have. Mr. Kershaw is full of respect and regard for the old memories, and the whole place is just as it was,—

'A nest in a green dale,
A harbour and a hold.'"

MEMOIR

MIDDLE LIFE

By C. E. MONTAGUE

MIDDLE LIFE.

(By C. E. Montague.)

Of Arnold's last years in Manchester one may attempt a sketch, but not a record, so few were their changes or events; and this by his own choice; a journalist, he took anonymity seriously, was not seen on platforms, seldom entered a club, never spoke at a public dinner; when he left the city, few of those who had read him for seventeen years can have heard of his name. He kept it unknown with a kind of zest; bearing himself to his paper as a Jesuit to the order, he relished the reach it gave his powers and relished the self-obliteration in their use—not from any sentimentalism of self-sacrifice, nor from insensibility to the pleasure of distinction, but for reasons that he gave. There is no limit, someone has said, to what a man can do who does not care who gains the credit for it. Arnold, who liked the saying, thought that for a man who wished to get things done there was no work like journalism. Imagine, he would say, what politics might be if the man who is in love with great ends had not to be always seeing to it that he is not overlooked—if he could give up his chance of a name for the chance of making, unknown, a deeper dint on the life of his time.

Not that Arnold thought that in the press any force worth using was to be had easily. No one was surer that a man had better sweep streets well than write with nothing more to go upon than volubility, brisk ways of putting things, quickness in reading up briefs and a turn for being in a heat at once about things that heat others.

But, on terms, a journalist could keep his soul and his brains. First, he must think of his paper not as a spring-board or a crutch for his own use, nor as a hoarding for the posters of a party, but as an instrument of civilisation that he can spend his life in plying without fear of feeling, when he is dying, that he has been parasitic, either in the sense of having lived on popular imbecility or vulgarity, or only in that of having stood by, gossiping or nagging, while better men worked. There must be no uncritical assents, in politics, morals or criticism, to fashionable second-bests, no vending to foolish people of expression for their foolish thoughts. That was, in Arnold's view, the first clause of a journalist's honour; he must beware of "reflecting public opinion"; he must say, not what his clients might like, but what he believes.

Next, he must earn a right to believe; he must feel that to tell the truth is not a matter of will only, but of skill and pains. Having often to make his mind up swiftly on points of evidence, he must find a mental discipline to train in him some special faculties that are more easily kept strong and supple by the daily work of a scholar or a judge. Since he may have to write on many subjects and cannot be an expert upon them all, he must make himself a first-rate expert upon one, that he may keep unblurred his sense of what knowledge means, and that to themes to which he cannot bring an expert's knowledge, he may bring at least an expert's method—his sense of relative values in evidence; his caution, and also his reach, in generalising; his adhesiveness to the point; his enjoyment of accuracy as accuracy. Arnold would often say that a young journalist should, in the old phrase, try to know everything about something, and something about everything. Unless he made some subject his own, his mind tied to it with an elastic string and leaping

it upon release from other work, he was likely
er brains and character away upon a trashy
lism; and perhaps be forced in middle life, when
y education had died out in him, and high spirits
unk, to slip down into indescribable quackeries and
ronteries in the effort to seem to be worth minding.
And yet, to be fit for his work, he should have wide
uriosity too; nothing should strike him as unclean or
ommon that preoccupies very many normal persons;
ather he should have a touch of the child's or artist's
ickled sense of fact, simply as fact; and this sense he
hould bring, above all, to principles in their working
lothes, institutions with the dust of life on them—the
acket and humours of elections, the way a jury talk when
they have left the box.

Nor would all the gain, Arnold thought, be on one side. To be an expert was the making of a journalist; but to be a journalist might save an expert some mistakes. Bagehot would not have been a prince of journalists without his economic training; but Maine, if he had been a journalist, might not have had his vision of an average audience of skilled English artisans as "roughs and clowns." "Even the Historical Method has its own clap-trap."[1] Arnold hoped the work of a historian and of a journalist might be each other's complement, the special mental discipline of each the antiseptic to the other's special maladies. And an amphibious writer, one foot in journalism and one in scientific history, might not merely be schooled by both; he might serve as intermediary between them, he might convince a fellow expert here and there that a mind may keep its edge, and even sharpen it, on the daily clinical study of affairs; and, as friend to coherent thinking

[1] John Morley. "Studies in Literature" (1891), p. 111.

he might say a word to the man in the morning might even, Arnold hoped, shake his fixed idea science is the same thing as the physical sciences a scientific method can come only through the latter

Arnold lived with a will the life thus planned. such plans for using life are bets on its length. Gibb won on the June night when he laid down the pen in his garden house at Lausanne. Almost every year th throw is seen lost, when the desk of someone who had le a sense of possible greatness on other workers at h craft—like Lewis Nettleship, Adamson, York Powell—i found, at his early death, to be full of masses of jotte notes, drafts of chapters, perhaps a scheme for the whol organism of a book, but nothing built; only heaped brick and a pencilled plan. For these defeats there is no wide sympathy. To work twenty years in a mine and send up nothing marketable, and then be brought up dead—to many minds this is the very type of futility. What ailed him, to waste the sun while he had it? A few fellow students may know that the work begun was good; laymen incline to see only the fate of another Casaubon;[1] the rows of frustrated note-books even warm them with a consciousness of truer sanity in letting their own minds live from hand to mouth; had they also tried to write, it might have been on like sand.

As a historian Arnold lost. Dying at fifty-two, disabled at forty-four, unable during his twenty working years to give to history more than the leisure of an exhausting profession, he published very little, and scarcely any part of his main design had been carried, when he died, to the point at which he would have wished a work of his to be judged.

[1] The Casaubon, needless to say, of "Middlemarch;" not Isaac Casaubon, nor Meric.

But only in one field out of two was there little to show. In his dual career each half was, he hoped, to help the other out; history to give journalism severity of method; journalism to keep history supplied with certain ingredients of sagacity, certain modes of alertness and caution. If he did not live to prove this use of journalism, he proved the converse use of history; no one watching his mind at work could doubt that it was partly the historical discipline that gave him the place he held, in the esteem of his profession, beside Bagehot, Greenwood, Morley, Barth, Godkin and the few others who in Europe or America have shown aptitude and zest for the exertion of first-rate minds and picked characters under the conditions of modern journalism. He wrote, by choice, on far more things than most men, of fair mental power and alacrity, can discuss at call without risk of becoming mere thinkers by proxy and re-arrangers of unfelt phrases; he wrote on politics, on the theatre, on painting and sculpture, on criticism and "pure literature," and these were not all, and yet he always wrote from reserves of relevant knowledge, and you felt behind the words the push of an eager mind.

The reserves were systematically fed. To each of four or five subjects Arnold applied the method by which an expert in it keeps himself aware what his fellows are doing. The expert, of course, does more; he adds to the stock of things known, besides noting additions made by others. In that sense Arnold was not an expert in economics or the history of art, or geography, or dramatic criticism. But he knew what the experts were at; a civilian, he rode round the outposts; the journalist, he thought, should pass and re-pass between the firing line of knowledge and the base, or the non-combatants; a paper failed if it left unnoticed any new fact or fruitful idea

that research had added to knowledge of a subject on which the paper offered to speak—if it rushed out to tell people how to stage Greek plays, or how to look at Central Asian politics, in terms that showed that it had not heard of some essential point first brought out a week before in a German classical review or at a meeting of Viennese geographers. There was scarcely an English, French, or German specialist review of the first rank, political, economic, geographical or critical, which Arnold did not scan. Friends at work on subjects far away from Roman history would get word from him of recondite foreign monographs which he feared they might have overlooked. Sometimes a fresh subject, large or slight, would draw him, and the same sweeping, small-meshed net would be cast in the new waters. Some years before the bicycle had become first a fashionable plaything and then a general utensil, Arnold's attention was piqued by its possible uses; a friend would find him on Saturday morning scouring with swift minuteness the whole week's output of cycling periodicals from Western Europe, lest a fact or idea worth having should go to waste.

To use such a method to any purpose several qualities were needed, all distinct and few of them common. First, a versatile energy of curiosity that pressed, for the pleasure's sake, towards the heart of every human interest, not in mere amateurish inquisitiveness, nor in search of raw material for dilettante talk, but with a natural passion for thoroughness. Next, a particular kind of imaginative sympathy with the plain man who is no specialist, a sympathy so rare that exhaustive knowledge of any subject is almost expected to put a bar between a man and his kind. Then, to make the method physically practicable, the swiftness in reading that seems to rip the sense out of a printed page as one turn of a skilled wrist guts a whole fish. Arnold was one of those who might seem to be merely cutting the pages of a new book, on a subject that they know, but will lay it down at the end with the net addition

already filed and docketed that its contents can make to their own stock. Without this knack a man who tries to keep up with so much as one fair-sized subject is oppressed or flurried with a sense of "ever climbing up a climbing wave"; without the further knack for marshalling his memoranda he may be half paralysed with fear of drowning, out of sight of land, as Stevenson said of Balzac, in the ocean of his own material. Arnold's multifarious mass of cuttings, notes and references, was arranged in concentric circles about him; the most vital parts re-read and digested; the next in order of value merely indexed in his mind and kept ready to his hand by the help of some 378 spacious pigeon-holes; the outer ring of material not preserved bodily but kept within call by notes of its whereabouts, filed in the appropriate pigeon-hole. Thus he sat, as oarsmen say, above his work. If a subject suddenly gained its first prominence—say, for illustration, the question of keeping or ousting the Polynesian labourers in Queensland—its emergence would find him equipped with (1) a fair hold, in his own mind, of the simplest of the governing considerations; (2) an instantly available store, in a pigeon-hole labelled perhaps "Tropical Industry," of extracts from the chief recent contributions of competent economists, physiologists and geographers to scientific knowledge of points involved; and, in a pigeon-hole possibly labelled "The 'White Australia' feeling," the most salient recent expressions of various strains of Australian public feeling on these points; (3) in the "Tropical Industry" pigeon-hole, a body of references to passages in books in which experts of authority have touched the problem on the scientific side; and, in the "White Australia" pigeon-hole, a similar body of references to passages of books in which Australian feeling had been studied by qualified observers. The full strength of the method was only seen in conflict with that old enemy of the journalist, the new theme sprung upon him by the wire late upon some night when miners have

been rioting under the Equator or fishermen fighting f(bait on the shore of Newfoundland. The challenge found Arnold's forces only waiting for mobilisation; he had good guns in action while others would still be looking for stones.

Yet another qualification was needed—some knowledge, not an expert's and yet not quite an amateur's, of each subject to which the method was applied. To fetch news from any particular frontier of knowledge you must know, for one thing, where that frontier is; for another, you must know the code that knowledge writes her news in, to be able to decipher it. Experts were apt to come with a start upon unexpected pockets of special knowledge in Arnold's mind. The letters on German feeling towards England which he wrote in the *Spectator* during his last illness [1] showed a command of current political literature in Germany that no previous English writer on the subject had gained. A distinguished French man of letters, M. Augustin Filon, whose help Arnold had sought in tracing a stray line of French to its source, has told [2] how

[1] Reprinted in book form with additions and notes, under the title "German Ambitions, as they affect Britain and the United States of America." Smith, Elder & Co., 1903.

[2] De son érudition, je puis juger indirectement par un souvenir qui m'est personnel. Je l'ai vu préoccupé d'un vers français, cité par Dryden et appartenant sans nul doute à l'un de nos poètes de ce temps. A moins que Dryden ne se fût accordé la fantaisie d'inventer un vers français, tout de même que le cardinal de Retz improvisait devant le parlement une phrase de Cicéron pour enlever un vote. Arnold me demanda mon secours; mais, en discutant avec lui, je m'aperçus bien vite qu'il en savait plus long que moi sur Racan, Mairet, Benserade, Sarrasin, que le nain de Julie et Conrart, malgré la prudence de son fameux silence, n'avaient pas de secrets pour lui. S'il était informé à ce point sur un sujet étranger et lointain, effleuré en passant, que ne devait-il pas savoir sur ces siècles de l'empire romain, où il a, em quelque sorte, vécu? ("Journal des Débats," June 29, 1904.)

he found that Arnold knew better than he the mass of French verse of Dryden's age; and the story has since drawn from another Frenchman with an exceptionally wide knowledge of literature, M. Lucien Mahieu, the comment: "M. Filon is right. Mr Arnold knew contemporary French literature much better than I did. I learned a great deal from him, even on this subject."

These pockets were kept full by gusts of special acquisitiveness. The impulse to work on Roman history was never displaced; it was a trade-wind; it held; off that track, curiosity blew where it listed; only, always hard. At one time all his leisure would go to Goethe. "I surround myself," he writes, "with Goethe books—did I ever tell you that my present mania is Goethe and that I am reading everything by him and about him that I can lay hands on?" And, four months later: "I grind away at Goethe." Another three months and he is absorbed in Greek tragedy, especially Euripides, who, he writes, "raises the fundamental problems almost more than anybody."

> "I have been reading Euripides with much interest of late. The naïve brutality of the Creon-like passages is of an amazing crudity. How remote from the real thing are the current expositions of the Greek drama! But read the 'Iph. Aulis.' The scenes in which Achilles finds out what is going on (the audience of course knowing it already—no puzzles for the audience in Greek theatre!) and Clytemnestra turns upon her blundering, lying old husband with an "A bas les masques!' are splendid."

Arnold's reading of Greek drama was vitalised by a turn or discriminating, in their classical expression, modes nd qualities of feeling in which moderns find special

piquancy and which they are prone to call modern. To a friend who had told him how in bed at night on the East Coast of Scotland, with the wind whining round the house, after a long day in the open, he had found himself laughing with glee at the very idea of a house, with its cunning snugness, Arnold wrote:—

"What you say about St. Andrews and the well-compacted house at night tickled my fancy a good deal. But hasn't Sophocles been before you? You remember the great chorus on the Beginnings of Civilisation in the "Antigone." First man teaches himself sea-faring. And then tillage. And then he tames the animals to his service. And then—

ἀστυνόμους
ὀργὰς ἐδιδάξατο καὶ δυσαύλω
πάγων διαίθρεια καὶ
δύσομβρα φεύγειν βέλη
παντοπόρος.

Just the same note of surprised pleasure at man's 'cuteness, isn't it? I had it myself the other day while I was standing on Battersea Bridge. It is constant in Homer, and one of the charms of him."

One of the keenest of these by-interests was in geography. Arnold had the strategist's imagination; maps were pictorial to him; when he studied one you felt that he could then shut his eyes, and look down mentally as a man standing looks at the floor, and see a whole shire lie there like an unrolled scroll. And this topographic vision, when its exercise had warmed him, he could communicate. Cycling with him you felt wide tracts of country coming out in their relief, vertebrate with water-sheds, the streams

searching into the heads of all the valleys, almost visibly, as hyacinth-roots grope out into the end of a glass jar. He liked to ride down the picked spots where nature's transactions come to a point and their meaning meets the eye—would make, delightedly, for the very boss of earth, on the moors near Buxton, whence part of each shower that wets it runs down to the Humber, and part to the Irish Sea, or the upland field near Market Harborough where the Nen and the Avon rise and, as he liked to feel, the puff of a child's breath on a still day might send a falling snowflake to the German Ocean or, if the child turned, to the Atlantic. Central and Southern Europe he knew not merely well, but vividly, with a mind full of notes of points for imagination to work round and start from, points like that earth's-navel near the top of the St. Gothard where the tendons of Europe's frame are tied into a central knot, and the Rhine, the Rhone and the Po come up, as to a clearing-house, to fetch back to the Adriatic and the Gulf of Lyons and the North Sea what each has lent to the sky. Such places kindled his mind, springing in it sensuous images of the swing and return of great forces over wide fields. Away from home and maps, he still kept an easy visual hold of the lie of country, and was ready to plan for a friend new lines of search for points where these transfiguring glimpses of geographical reality were to be obtained—cardinal watersheds, strongly featured coasts, silted or scoured estuaries, nodal points in the articulation of ranges of hill. To a Mancheste friend he writes from abroad:—

"Very interesting about your passion for the Pennine I quite felt it too. But I don't see the Wrekin, etc., a Pennine. For me the chain dies away in that high table-land between Crewe and Stafford, and you will

see what you have now to do is to explore (1) the source of the Trent. Train to Congleton and work south to Colwich or Stafford. See the junction with Derwent and master the great Trent bend. By the way, the country about Colwich has always looked very interesting from the train, and quite unknown. (2) Train to Tebay Junction and work down the Lune to Lancaster. This is feasible, even in the day. By the way, an old cyclist once told me that there is high ground, somewhere in that region, whence you can see at one and the same moment *two* fifty-mile-an-hour expresses hurling themselves Northwards on the North-Western and the Midland—ten miles apart and quite unconscious of the juxtaposition, but brought into one focus by the lonely cyclist's eye. Doesn't that appeal to your imagination? (3) The least known hill district of all England—that Bowland region which you and Patchell and I walked that day. Ride through the Trough of Bowland (Cp. the Trouée de Belfort) from Whalley or Clitheroe to Lancaster. I don't think it can be geologically part of the Pennine, but am not sure. Anyhow it is worth exploring for its own sake. (4) The whole Craven region—Settle, Clapham, the Upper Wharfe, etc."

Arnold's method ruled his style. To read so much, ad also write much, a man must often write ast. As it was, few men could write as fast as he ith less loss. There was no painful crushing of the desire bevel and inlay the phrase; rather he took light from aste, as a man who can talk takes light from looks that sk him to go on. The best things of all are not written ius, but a man of full mind, humour and a virile habit using words will sometimes write surprisingly well with ie smell of the printer's ink to go to his head and warm

him; the more so if at other times he writes word by word, and each word weighed, as Arnold wrote history. Out of the slow cometh forth swiftness: Arnold knew that the waters of style, like other waters, flow their fastest after damming, and he worked the knowledge into a place in his scheme; as newspaper thought should learn order from specialist study, so was newspaper style to learn rapidity from the slowness of specialist writing: in the two-speed gear of the pen the low speed was not only to alternate with the high, but to enhance it, as recoil puts pace into spring.

This enhanced speed he desired not merely in order to get work done in time. He traced a relation between the pace at which a thing is read and that at which it should be written: to a rapid scanning of a newspaper leader or criticism on the way to town the right correlative, in his view, was a mode of writing that conformed more closely to the quick, broken flow of forcible speech than political or critical writing commonly does; and one of the means by which he thought that this sympathetic relation between reader and writer might be attained was an extreme rapidity in writing; that those who run might read, it was best to write running. Here, to show the idea in action, is a typical passage from a notice of a play that Arnold had just seen for the first time:—

"At the same time 'The —— of ——' is by no means a good play, though, as is natural with Mr. ——, a good deal more brightly and smartly writt[illegible] than the average. Its psychology is trivial and its eth[illegible] downright perverse. Shelley said in his half humouro[illegible] half serious way, of the 'School for Scandal': 'I see [illegible] It is to associate goodness [illegible] with books.' S[illegible]

'The —— of ——,' the good people break the Ten Commandments freely, while those who keep them are hypocrites or callous egotists. A very juvenile Rousseauish opposition of 'duty' and 'Nature' constantly recurs—as if philosophers meant by living 'according to nature' living according to the elementary, often anti-social and inhuman instincts of the flesh. Mrs. A—— is a sympathetic and charming person who committed adultery while she had three young children living. L—— A—— is a gallant young fellow who forges his friend's signature to an accommodation bill. These facts are a little too solid, and the audience rebels somewhat when it is asked to give all its sympathy to the wife and son and none to the straight-living pharisaical father. It is quite true that a man may live straight and not have the root of the matter in him; but it is not true—and it is of immoral tendency to represent it as true—that all virtuous people are hypocrites and egotists. There should have been a foil to Mr. A——, a virtuous person who is also amiable—but the odious minister, Mr. D——, is worse than his patron. The devil really has too much the best of it. We have not the slightest sympathy with the mock prudery that would banish from the stage all serious treatment of one great side of life. But it is not serious treatment of it to represent Mrs. A——'s proceedings of ten years ago as a mere venial lapse, quite consistent with her remaining a happy wife and happy mother, and respected by all who knew her, and with a "day at home" for the *élite* of Warminster. The French have a logic of their own in these things, and think that a *grande passion* justifies everything. But then they have the wit to see that a *grande passion* of that kind [illegible] and smash, and

best of both worlds—which is what Mrs. A—— substantially does."

Arnold would have been quick to show that this prose is not of the very best—that it is not exquisite; that, though there is rhythm, there are no new finds in rhythm, none of the prose melodies that ripple, trail, or climb to the ear in ways of their own; that the phrase might be richer in second intentions, that there might be more harmonics to the notes; that the emphasis with its frontal attack, the open laying out of the antitheses, the whole technical affinity to Macaulay, preclude the best choiceness. Yet it is good work-a-day prose; it has connection; not the connection of conjunctive particles; it coheres organically;[1] the paragraph, not the sentence, is the unit of thought, the strong sense crossing in its stride the little breaks at which bad writers fuss with their little bridges. The style, again, is what the craft call fluffless—there is no inky humming and ha-ing, or clearing of the literary throat; and the whole is a-tingle with an unbookish ring; you would think that he said it aloud while he wrote, and indeed it reads as his talk sounded, and one hears in it the rise and fall of his eager voice pressing its points.

On this level of force and vivacity Arnold wrote as fast as the pen could move, in the hour or two hours after a play ended, or in the train, or amid the Sibylline whirl of leaves of tissue-paper from which the leader-writer must extract the gist of a long or late debate in Parliament. He was aware of the risks of the practice; nobody ha[illegible] better the second-rate journalist's smooth and washy [illegible] of commonplace. In one letter he says:—

"I have been reading the elder Seneca, and have [illegible]

[illegible] quoted with approval the saying of Jowett, "S[illegible]

across this lovely bit about the ordinary X—— and facile writers generally; 'Erat explicatio Fusci splendida quidem sed operosa et implicata, cultus nimis adquisitus . . . ; summa inaequalitas orationis, quae modo exilis erat, modo nimiâ licentiâ vaga et effusa . . . ; *nihil acre, nihil solidum, nihil horridum;* splendida oratio et magis lasciva quam laeta. . . . Nunquam inopia verbi substitit, sed *velocissimo ac facillimo cursu omnes res beata circumfluebat oratio.*' Observe particularly the words italicised. That *nihil horridum* is really magnificent, and made me chortle."

A safeguard, he thought, for a writer forced to work fast was to keep his mind steeped in the work of men who had mastered the great bare way of writing, in which the thought goes naked and must bear looking at. "Men fear death as children fear to go in the dark." "The time has been that, when the brains were out, The man would die." To write like that, Arnold used to say, was a test as well as a feat; long before the wording of what most men had to say was cut down to that point, the poverty or staleness of their thought would be unbearably well rendered; and to test and keep his integrity a journalist should learn to strip his matter. Of course he could not do this always, for nothing, in any art, takes so long to reach or needs more power than plainness—a good Rodin is only a thought with every shred of marble verbiage, that had clogged it, [illegible]pped away. Arnold meant that a man should train [illegible]self to go, when he could, as far as he could, in paring [illegible]n expression towards the fineness in which it fits upon [illegible]ng like a cry; and this was to be done by reading and [illegible]ading authors whose phrase had austerity and bite, [illegible]the Bacon of the "Essays," Swift in t[illegible]
[illegible]l." Ful[illegible]

hakspeare in the few parts where he tries to be grimly lain and is grimmer than anybody. No harm done ither if this gave the style a tang of salt quaintness; ood American slang, with its jagged concision, has this, nd we all draw on it, and rightly; why not, too, on iquancies of our own make, or our fathers'? No matter some semi-literates found a discomforting queerness in ıe archaism of jets of force like Fuller's: "Who shall y which of us lay uppermost in Adam's loins, or took the all in Eve's belly?" Reading the memoir of Cherbuliez ritten for the *Revue Bleue* by M. Émile Faguet at the ıvelist's death, Arnold pounced on a passage animated his own idea, cut it out and posted it to a fellow writer.

"Read this by Faguet on Cherbuliez. The bit about style is excellent:—

"'Cherbuliez était persuadé qu'il suffisait de pratiquer une langue, dans un monde qui la parle bien, pour la connaître; mais qu'il n'était pas inutile cependant de l'étudier pour la savoir mieux. Aussi la recherchait-il dans les auteurs de vieux terroir francais, c'est-à-dire là où elle est, dans les écrivains originaux du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle, et il était comme pénétré de cette "substantifique moelle." C'est ce qui a donné à sa langue cette forte et fine saveur de délicat archaïsme, dont, pour mon compte, je suis ravi, et c'est ce qui a induit certains chroniqueurs qui prennent Thespis p une déesse et qui mettent un solécisme dans cha ligne de leurs proses et dans chaque vers de l drames, à assurer qu'il faudrait "apprendre le fra à M. Cherbuliez, lequel ne sait que le suisse."'

[redacted] think there is a bit of the 'substan[redacted] style, and I ai[redacted]

something of the kind myself. And then the way th common or garden reader appreciates Cherbuliez is very funny. 'Quaedam in Livio patavinitas.'"

A writer who cares for his craft is apt, as he goes on, to think not quite as he did of causes that he has set out to serve. He set out, perhaps, sure that they were good; he is sure of it now; still that sureness may have started full-grown, and can grow no more; what grows is his sense of intrinsic value in other, ancillary things—modes o by-products of advocacy; to be fair, to keep to the point to treat as a trust the use of words—more and more d these seem to him to be no mere means to win a case but ends. Bad writing breeds fanaticism; you have no the skill to put a point well, or you will not be at the pains and the next thing is that to put it ill is a mark, in you sight, of a faith too whole and single to care for forms To the better workman comes more easily a sense of th remoteness of some of those further ends, and of th dimness of the ways to them—remote and dim, that is compared with the gain that is laid up whenever so much as one well-turned sentence brings its tiny cell of new tissue to repair the living body of a language. Arnold had this sense in politics; he was contained and critical, saw few sheep either white or black, but a great many grey, of various tones, between which it piqued him to discriminate, and also to draw events to scale; in an [illegible]inary day's molecular activity he would neither [illegible]lore a state of coma nor trumpet the stir of new worlds [illegible]he womb. Yet he took politics to heart and attained [illegible]litics of his own, mixed from ingredients of his own [illegible]ing.

[illegible] of these ingredients was a more than c[illegible]
[illegible]ral individu[illegible]

ined temperament even more than learning. "So-and-
So," he would say of someone who only spoke or saw with
he tongue of his class or the eye of his time of life, "is a
nere shell of a man." In the will to stand by one's own
ideas of what is worth having and doing he found a kind
of seminal virtue; anyone taking the world in a way of
his own was experimenting for us all; to thwart him and
his sowing was not so much a wrong to him as to us
t might impoverish the moral flora. So, too, what
vas racy in a race had its use and its right to be used
whatever made Welshmen less Welsh or Poles less Polish
essened the diversity and richness of the general outlook
upon life; it took from an observatory part of its advan-
tage of remoteness; and if political safety were pleaded in
excuse Arnold would laugh; he would speak of the flying
machine that was much the best of its kind, but must not
uit the earth lest it break; what was politics for if not to
nrich life and character, what was its use if it must live
y missing its aim? Autonomy was a mode of self-
expression which he thought it wasteful to withhold from
any nation—the test of nationality being, to his mind, the
consciousness of it. There was perhaps no political object
for which he cared more, or wrote with more fire, than
Irish Home Rule. "Do, for Heaven's sake," he wrote
to a fellow-journalist in 1903, when scarcely able to pencil
the note, 'smack Bulgaria on the back for all you are
worth, and give a lash to those vile Greeks who are selling
their souls to the Turks.'" The last reference to politics
in his letters was an expression of passionate sympathy
with the Basques, among whom he was living, in
resistance to the French official policy of denationalising

On these topics Arnold wrote like one who had felt
imagination, what it would
's, and English pool

as a *patois* in a Surrey school. His own patriotism wa not a resultant of trains of reasoning, nor an inflame sense of property in a wide estate: it was affection; the sight of English fields as the train came up from Dover stirred him to a kind of ecstacy like old Gaunt's; words that he let fall showed how his mind could rest and doat lover-like, on the visual idea of England lying out apart from Europe, at her incomparable moorings, all of he juicy green with her temperate rains and suns and trampe up and down by Shakspeare clowns; everything charac teristically English—the lie of a Cheshire village, with it church, manor and parsonage; the harsh pith of rusti speech on Pennine moorlands; an English peasant taking his bearings in a new shire, crumbling a clod in his hand and snuffing up the smell of the tilth after rain; a wayside smithy that might not have changed its look since Chaucer Oxfordshire farmers meeting in the market train and talk ing like Shallow and Silence of the price of wool and th deaths of acquaintances—everyone English finds savour i these things, but to Arnold the English accent on them was almost an intoxicant. He seemed to taste it as much more delightedly than most men as most men feel the accent of the eighteenth century more clearly than that of their own.

From this passion for England sprang another feeling towards the Empire. The exertion, especially if thankless, great qualities that he thought peculiarly English, ays stirred his enthusiasm;[1] the thought of an English

[1] friend in whose house Arnold and his wife sometimes passed a few rites: "I had, now and then, a glimpse of his deeper feelings. tance, his enthusiasm for anything which gave evidence of self- in social work. I remember how he kindled at once in speaking ng man of our own class who at one time took lodgings on the f one of the Manchester Lad's C

magistrate or doctor used up obscurely in India or Polynesia thrilled the Puritan in him, a Puritan who had received the Renaissance, and whom the beauty of an austere dutifulness warmed like the glow and sweep of a Titian; he would rage against the shallow journals of travel—mainly by Russians—in which the minor English civil servant in the plains of India is casually sketched as an idler or even as a small Verres. Yet he felt that the Empire might be England's dangerous rival for the love of Englishmen. He was much haunted by the Roman tragedy of an Empire whose extremities grew at the cost of her heart,[1] and feared that in some cases expansion might de-Anglicise English conquerors and unman the races conquered. These mingled strains of feeling are indicated in a letter to a fellow-Liberal:—

"Are there not sides to the British Empire of which the most ardent Liberal can be justly proud? The guiding clue is, to my mind, the distinction between the Colonial Empire (not really Empire) and the genuine Imperial article. For the peaceful extension of our race, with peace, order and self-government, over the waste places of the earth one can have little but welcome and feel little but pride. But the real Empire is government, by the sword, of inferior races—generally coloured. In these cases, even if the Government is just and the *Pax Romana*, or *Britannica* is assured, there is always the dread question whether the fibre of the ruled is not fatally weakened, whether you are not in the long run, in depriving your fellow-men of self-government, depriving them of their manhood. The

[1] In expressing this misgiving he would sometimes quote the stanzas Matthew Arnold's "Obermann Once More," beginning at the line Like ours it looked in outward air."

case is still worse in the comparatively rare cases of dominion over unwilling white and equal races, *e.g.*, the Boers. No doubt there are cases—Malay Peninsula, Fiji, etc.—in which our rule appears a blessing. Still, the extension of Empire in these two latter senses is, I think, to be watched with the greatest jealousy and, as a rule, resisted. But this should not make one unjust to the individuals who have to work the administrative machine in India, etc."

A note from Chésières, written later, expresses the fear he often felt lest, in watering our garden, we should let our household die of thirst:—

"James Long's letter in Thursday's *Manchester Guardian*, about the agricultural labourer, is important and interesting. It reminds me that the foreigners had an entertainment here the other night *pour les pauvres*, gained 400 francs, and then found there were no *pauvres* to give it to! What a country! And then look at England and the rheumatic old labourers in the work-houses. But what is to be done in this or any other salutary direction until the Imperialistic tyranny is overpast?"

The other main ingredient in Arnold's politics, and indeed in all his judgments, was a more than common deference to the authority of special knowledge. Liking moral nonconformity, he hated intellectual impudence; a forty, his face would still tingle, he said, to think how he had pulled the beard of one of his betters, J. A. Symonds, in some critical discussion twenty years before, as men will do in their airy youth; friends will remember the gust

in his voice when he spoke of a "competent expert," or of "going to head-quarters," or distinguished someone who was "just a brilliant amateur" from someone else whose "judgment counted with serious people who wanted to understand." He had a way, when a new point arose, of asking himself how it would have struck some mind that he looked up to; some view on affairs of to-day was surely what that great Liberal, Dr. Arnold, would have thought; in criticism he would frame judgments, to see how they looked, in terms of the probable verdicts of Matthew Arnold or Pater, or, at the theatre, of Lemaître and Sarcey, then the first dramatic critics in Europe. As a critic he may at times have carried respect for authority too far, urged by the feeling which he derived from Matthew Arnold that in these things education could best be carried forward on a strong central stream of organised European opinion. In politics this respect, qualifying Arnold's love of human individuality and eagerness to liberate and encourage it, made him a Liberal exceptionally alert to meet such maladies of democratic politics as the assurance that arrogates finality for casual, half-informed judgments, or the worldliness that falls in unenquiringly with what is in vogue for the time in a party or a nation. At some moments he would seem almost sardonically critical of what was current; but this only gave the measure of his belief in the unexhausted possibilities of democracy.

To many younger colleagues Arnold was a teacher. He had always liked sharing what he knew; though he had never wished to be a schoolmaster, he had some of the compelling qualities of one—a controlled, judicial impatience, a kind of wrathful affection for ignorance; he would scold like a guide who will not let you lie down in the snow. To a clever man fresh from a good degree

and perhaps a little conscious of a mission to purge the press of its dross,[1] the first contact with Arnold was somewhat formidable. He was nearly six feet high, sinewy and broad, a thirteen-stone athlete with (in these later years) a student's stoop. His face was, for an Englishman's, extraordinarily dark, with black hair, a redoubtable chin and mouth and a great, beetling, lined forehead;[2] his look was enigmatic till he laughed; he had a shyness easily mistaken for ferocity. As he talked, in packed, clipped sentences, with suspensive nods, or little grunts of distaste, he would sometimes rub his hands, and between them the grain that had served so well at the Schools or in prize essays seemed to crumble, before the producer's eyes, into an afflicting bran. "Do you really *think* all that?" "Very *nice*, you know, but what are you going upon?" "'The mundane movement'! Mundane movement! Mean to say they let men talk about the 'mundane movement' at Oxford now?" Repeated by him, quite simply, banality and inflation found themselves out; they took fright and looked foolish. "I'm afraid it *is* pigwash, rather," a patient ruefully conceded. "My dear boy," was the reply, "It's nothing like so definite." He wondered that the universities should not do more to teach the negative parts of writing. "It really seems,"

[1] To a colleague who had overlooked, in revision, some expression of this state of mind, Arnold wrote:—

"... Discriminate between good journalism and bad, but never allow journalism as such to be discreditably spoken of. This is one of the points I always watch for in proof—the 'superior' contributor is very prone to this damned foolishness; there was much of it in ... till he grew older and wiser."

[2] The face of Dr. Arnold in the Westminster Abbey bust owes some touches to sittings given by William Arnold to the sculptor, Mr. Alfred Gilbert.

he would say, "as if every Greats man needed a year in a newspaper-office to unlearn his journalese." [1]

But if the first clearance had its rigour, the generosity that refilled was incomparable. Everything that by any pains he could impart—facts, communicable dexterities, pregnant ideas, stores of references that stood for months of labour—Arnold would pour out in total unconsciousness of doing anything unselfish. He would watch for a younger colleague's achievement, point it out and exult in it as some men do in their own. On the work of those under him there was a constant fire of intimate, inspiring criticism that overlooked nothing slipshod and nothing that had merit. He was slow to despair of anyone; you would find that what he remembered best about a writer usually sapless or perfunctory, was some piece of work in which he had been raised above himself by an authentic thrill of feeling. So-and-so, he would agree, was a poor political writer, "but his . . . . article," Arnold would add, "was quite superb in its own Corinthian way," referring, perhaps, to some vivid, turbid narrative of an adventure. Of a middling journalist who had amazed him by writing something vertebrate, he wrote:—

> "It is curious and interesting about X——. Is he *drunk* when he writes like that? If so, one is tempted to say with Lincoln, when they told him that Grant drank too much whiskey, 'What is the brand, that I may send some to my other generals?'"

[1] The inexact rhetorical use of historical parallels by educated men was a special irritant to Arnold. In the autumn of 1899 he writes:

"Cheerful about Milner, isn't it? That stuff about 'Helots' is dreadful—makes one think that, after all, the 'practical man' is right in distrusting the don in real affairs. And the joke is that Milner has used his Oxford so badly, the Outlanders not being Helots at all, but —very exactly— μετοικοί, who at Athens did all the trade, but were, of course, aliens from Asia and unenfranchised."

It troubled him to see a man not attaining the full possibilities of his talent, or losing the benefit of some qualities for lack of others to help them out or set them off. A passage from a letter to a writer who had knowledge, industry and conscience, but, at that time, wanted fire, shows with how tender a finger Arnold could touch[1]:—

"You are too modest and fastidious, my dear boy, and while all the young chaps are going in for *le substantif rare, l'adverbe voyant, et l'adjectif extraordinaire*, and are saying nothing with a great profusion of speech, you stick to your classic σωφροσύνη and eschew all the fashionable humbug, which is good, only one must remember the conditions of journalism and the 'necessity of inflicting strong blows upon' your readers. So I was pleased to see a picturesque, *voyant* epithet or so in that notice, and generally an extra dash of glow and colour. Go on in that vein. With all the young ones beating each of them his little drum, as loud as he knows how, to draw attention to his remarkable performances, we elders cannot afford to be too classically fastidious. And, after all, is not the ideal to combine the colour and in-

[1] The same characteristic is illustrated in a passage from a letter to a younger man who had sent Arnold a proof of some unpublished verses for criticism:—

"The measurements raise the point discussed by Wordsworth *à propos* of his 'Thorn':

'I've measured it from side to side,
'Tis five feet long and three feet wide.'

His friends made him change it. He found the particularity typical of the man's mental distress. The dazed consciousness notes unessential trifles. So Rossetti's

'One thing then learnt remains to me,
The wood-spurge has a cup of three.'

But is there such sufficient reason for the particularity here? I do not feel sure, and the Philistine would certainly object. I should be inclined, therefore, to yield."

dividuality of the Romantic with the sobriety and sound judgment of the Classic? . . ."

Sometimes these criticisms would pass into more general bservations on journalism, or on special sides and funcons of it. Of a new war-correspondent he writes:—

"Z—— is no use for war. I never saw a great opportunity so missed as in his . . . . telegram. As if we wanted his noble sentiments . . . ! One wanted the *chose vue*—the detail which is the life and soul of all journalism (of course the general idea is the life and soul too—resolve how you can, you who can), but, above all, of descriptive reporting, and one did not get it. I said to myself—'Hum! I don't see what the *Westminster* can reproduce out of this."

To a younger classical scholar he sends, with a copy of arnell's "Greek Lyric Poets" for review, a note on the nction of the specialist reviewer in a daily paper:—

"It would be necessary to show how the collection compares with Bergk's. . . . But though, if a scholar took up the review, he ought to be able to see that it was written by a scholar, still the general educated reader, who has half forgotten his Greek, but who loves poetry, and who might be tempted to rub up the language if assured that he would thereby find in this book poetical impressions otherwise unattainable, is rather the reader to be kept in mind. A few little versions of the *Volkslieder*—either prose or verse—might help to make the review interesting."

Arnold's mind dwelt much upon the nature of the elationship between a newspaper and its readers; it was o eschew alike the reflection of their opinions and the riticism of them wholly from without; a journalism

that merely "gave the public what the public wants" would be a trade for upright men to avoid; but "bear in mind," he writes to another journalist, "that a newspaper is not an individual and has a special relation to its readers which makes the purely cosmopolitan, *dégagé* attitude of the philosopher impossible for it." Not to have borne this always in mind was almost the only fault which he would admit in the journalism of E. L. Godkin; that great journalist, he thought, sometimes carried scientific detachment, in discussing his country's affairs, to a point at which he lost the ear, as well as the assent, of the plain man whom blood warms. Another strong feeling was his dislike of attempts by journalists to "govern the country," as he put it—meaning, to formulate positive policies on their own responsibility and try to force them on Ministries. He disliked also the practice, still common in English journalism, of concentrating almost the whole writing strength of a paper upon politics, to the neglect, or scamping, of literary and other criticism. Of the critical work he says in one of his letters:—

> "No part of a paper *stamps* it more. Your educated man does not always at once discern a good leader from a bad one, but two sentences from a criticism are enough to show him whether the writer is in the swim or not, and whether the paper deserves respect or the contrary."

For serious criticism of every kind he had an insatiable appetite, devouring it in every published form, from monographs on fundamentals to magazine articles. His letters abound in passages like these:—

> "I am sending you a little birthday offering of Swinburne's book on Shakspeare. I hope you haven't got it already. I never heard you speak of it, so hope for the best. I had occasion to look it up the other day,

and was struck, as one always is, by the childishness of his argumentation, but also by the miraculous sureness of his instinct for fine poetry. He really, in virtue of this sleuth-hound scent of his, interprets—makes one see beauty where one had not seen it before.

. . . . . .

"I have been reading two things lately which you must read. Christie Murray on Burns in this month's *Contemporary*—really new and illuminating; Leslie Stephen's "Shakspeare as a Man," in the 4th volume of his new "Studies of a Biographer,"—insisting *(contre vous, mon ami)* that S is not always wearing the dramatic mask, and that one can detect a great deal of his personality.

. . . . . .

"I have also lately read a great German book on Æsthetics, by one Vischer—really a man of genius, the best German on such subjects since Lessing. The Germans object to him that he puts Shakspeare on top and draws his examples from him rather than from Goethe and Schiller. But that does not spoil him!"

Wherever Arnold's reading, of any kind, brought him to anything of value, his impulse was to write off at once to someone who could use or would enjoy it. He writes to his wife on February 18, 1892:—

"Tell Aunt Jane[1] to get the 4th volume of the new cheap edition of Froude's "Short Studies," containing his "Oxford Counter-reformation." It contains the only warm defence of the Evangelical party and principles by a first-rate man of letters that I know (the High Anglicans have had almost the monopoly of that kind of help), and should please her."

[1] Miss Jane Whately, the eldest daughter of Archbishop Whately.

He treated his own knowledge quite naturally and instinctively as a candle that would be none the worse for lighting another man's. To a friend who had just annotated for schools a part of Palgrave's "Golden Treasury" [1] he writes :—

> "Should you some day write a few more notes to this book let me know, and I will send you a sheaf of cuttings in which there may be a grain or two, as well as the foreign stuff—chiefly German—which has been written about Keats."

He delighted especially in helping people to fall to work on new subjects without waste of power or false starts along unprofitable lines of study. To a young Cambridge man who wished to qualify himself for a French mastership in an English public school, he had written, on March 19, 1889 :—

> "I wouldn't use —— for more than a book of reference. The French say he is full of blunders. Anyhow he is thoroughly un-French and pig-headedly British in scores of ways. Read all you can of the critical work of Montégut and Faguet (they will suggest further reading), but above all read the French classics themselves, from Montaigne downwards. For philology, Brachet to begin with; after that I would go straight to Gröber's great book (in German) on the philology of the Romance languages. Get the *big* Littré by all means if you possibly can. Darmesteter's "Life of Words" (Kegan Paul) is very good."

To the same correspondent he had written two days before :—

[1] "Palgrave's Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics." Book IV. Edited with notes by J. H. Fowler. Macmillan & Co., 1901.

"You cannot work too hard and apply too much effort of mind to master (1) the teaching problem—the best method of getting knowledge into a boy's brain, (2) the French genius. It seems to me that a man in your position fails if his better boys leave him, as most boys do leave school, with the fixed idea that French is a tiresome language, in which are written stilted poetry that nobody can read, and nasty novels that nobody ought to. You ought to be an interpreter of the best qualities of the French mind to your capable boys, and leave them with a liking for the language and the literature. All this is a large order, but I am sure you will agree with me that one's mistakes do not come from pitching one's ideal too high. You can do everything for your mind in the next five or six years if you will work hard, and with your *feelers* well out."

The letter will remind Arnold's friends of his own liking for French literature and his sympathy with many French habits of mind. To read French and to talk it with Frenchmen always gave him pleasure; the "virtue," the characteristic quality of the language, was congenial to him; a French idiom tasted like a nut. He would watch with a happy curiosity an educated Frenchman's mental bearing, his valuations, the way things struck him. The conclusion grew stronger in him, as he grew older, that on the whole the modern German contribution to civilisation had been over-rated and the modern French contribution undervalued. He had begun by accepting without abatement the current estimate of the pre-eminent seriousness of German scholarship, though irritated by some characteristically German modes of addressing the mind to a question. "I read German," he had written to one of his brothers in 1881, "till I am almost sick. Un-

fortunately those beastly Germans are the only people who know anything about anything." In his later years anyone who set up the stock contrast between German thoroughness and French slightness would draw from Arnold vehement citations of first-rate contemporary French work of research in history, economics and theology; he would bring up solid, little-known achievements of recent French archæology and classical scholarship, to put against those which German students had placed with more success upon the intellectual market.

Twenty years before the recent growth of amity between England and France Arnold was urging on all occasions that the two countries were the natural joint leaders of free Europe and guardians of its peace. And it was not as a public writer only that Arnold worked for this end. He had a plan for animating and equipping at least some few intermediaries between French and English middle-class feeling. He was aware that a certain number of young Frenchmen, who had distinguished themselves at the University, were granted travelling scholarships to enable them to study English language and literature in England, most of them, on their return, becoming masters in French secondary schools. It grieved Arnold that these future teachers of Frenchmen should perhaps know little more of England than some cheerless London lodging and the Reading Room of the British Museum. Helped by his friend the late Mlle. Souvestre,[1] he sought acquaintance with them, entertained them at his house in Manchester, sent them, armed with many introductions, to Oxford and Cambridge,

[1] Daughter of the late Emile Souvestre, the novelist, and for many years a schoolmistress in England. She was a woman with a rare talent for conversation and for friendship.

to Uppingham, Malvern, and Charterhouse; he thought out minute schemes for showing them at its best the life of the English student, of the English undergraduate and schoolboy, of the English cathedral city and country house. He would devise itineraries, with ingenious breaks in journeys, combinations of trains and calculations of hours and expenses. To one, whom he had not then seen, he writes in an invitation to Manchester:—

"I should advise you to take the first train in the morning from St. Pancras station to Rowsley, which is on the Midland line from London to Manchester; book, in the first place, to Rowsley only; leave your luggage at the station and walk a mile to Haddon Hall, which is one of the show places of England; walk back to the station and take an afternoon train (there is a good one between 4 and 5) on to Manchester. In this way, without any extra expense, you would see a very interesting place. Haddon Hall is perhaps the most perfect specimen of the late mediæval dwelling-house that exists in Europe. You should also visit the famous Peacock Inn at Rowsley, if only for a glass of beer. From Rowsley walk a quarter of a mile along the road; then when you come to the bridge over the river, take to the fields on your right and walk along by the stream to Haddon. If you have a fine day you will have a delightful experience. You could either lunch at the Peacock Inn, which I should advise, though it is rather dear, or take sandwiches with you from London. The enclosed map may be useful."

From Manchester he would bring them—familiar, like most English-reading Frenchmen, with the Brontës, especially Emily, and with Mrs. Gaskell—on great walks to Haworth and Knutsford; or to Hebden Bridge, to see

co-operation; or to his favourite Windgather Rocks, or Kinder Downfall; or to the frayed Pennine edge of urban Lancashire where the factory hooter wakes the grouse, and you hear the clogs, before dawn, tapping a dotted line of sound through peat and bracken. A circumstantial thoughtfulness levelled before them the social molehills that loom so mountainous before shy, bookish youth in a foreign country,—the time to "dress" and the time to refrain from dressing; how they should ask for a friend at the door of an Oxford college; they must not be amazed when the porter ejaculated his "Tom. Number 7. Two pair." And this not for their comfort merely. He coveted for them a real precision of intimacy with English usage. Why not throw off the educated Frenchman's seated habit of writing our "Esq." with a small e? Had they never laughed at the English popular way of writing Mlle. with an interpolated d?[1]

It was Arnold's hope that one of these friends might write on England, for Frenchmen, with at least the authority of Mr. Bodley's studies of modern France. He says, in 1889:—

> "I am convinced that if you go on as you have begun you will get a hold of English and England such as is excessively rare in France. All French books about England and English literature are by intelligent outsiders. But there is room for a book by an insider who knows us and our language almost like an English-

[1] Arnold's fastidiousness on points where carelessness is a kind of international incivilty, was always vigilant. When he was away from home a reference in the paper to "De Musset" would bring from him an instant protest: "This is a pure Briticism. They say, of course, 'Alfred de Musset,' and 'M. de Musset,' but never 'De Musset'—always Musset, Tocqueville, Coulanges, etc.

man, and yet remains French all the time, and it should be your ambition to write that book." [1]

He helped and prompted them in every project that might set English life and literature in a fairer light. One of them thinks of writing a study of Bunyan, and Arnold writes a long letter of encouragement and advice; he has already arranged for an introduction to the chief English authority on Bunyan's life and time; will not —— go to Bedford at once and work on the spot? Arnold has enquired for lodgings, has written to interest a cadet of a family paramount in Bedfordshire; he encloses a pretty full Bunyan bibliography. An instance of the sanity controlling feelings so strong in him as his impatience of some traits of German culture and his delight in French love of England is offered in a later letter to the same correspondent, who had just distinguished himself at the University of Paris in classical and English scholarship:

"H—— makes the remark that it is somewhat of a *contresens* that you should know English so well, and German not at all. I think there is some truth in this, and that you should seriously consider it. It would greatly strengthen your intellectual equipment to add German to English. The *fonds classique* is too strong in you for there to be any danger of your Teutonising your mind overmuch, as some Frenchmen have done."

[1] Arnold received with delight, a few weeks before his death, a little volume ("England and the English," by A. Beljame and L. Mahieu, published in Paris by Hachette), in which one of his suggestions to this correspondent had borne fruit—

"Many thanks for the letters and the book. I have *roared* over the latter, and so has everybody who has seen it. It is a brilliant idea, most felicitously and humourously carried out, and one quite envies the little French folk whose English lessons, instead of being a *corvée*, will be a delightful lark."

Arnold was at special pains to prevent natural French preconceptions from warping the valuation of English institutions. He writes on November 3, 1890, to a *boursier* for whom he had obtained an opportunity to study at an English public school the "semi-paternal, semi-fraternal" relation, as Arnold called it, of an English schoolmaster to his boys:—

> "What you say about religion and French schools is sound in this sense, that no one is justified in teaching what he does not believe. But you must not transfer French experience bodily to England, and assume that the English schoolmasters inculcate religion without believing in it. Those of them who have no belief manage to leave it alone, and do not go to a school where special stress is laid upon the matter, like Malvern. But many of them quite honestly believe. It is *the* fundamental difference between England and France."

To the same friend—who had just announced his sense of a touch of dullness in a journal that was then one of the most formidable opponents of the domestic policy that Arnold had most at heart—he writes on December 1, 1892:—

> "I understand what you mean by the tediousness of the *Spectator*. At the same time, with all its faults, it is so characteristically English, and in many ways so worthy of respect, that you might do worse than read it."

That was what he worked for—that English and French should penetrate to what is characteristically French and characteristically English; it was not credible to him that the core of any nation, when reached, could be unattractive; mutual dislike or contempt was simply another aspect of shallow observation. "Your conversation," he writes

to a friend at Paris on May 14, 1890, "with the young Frenchman who judged *l'esprit britannique* by "Ally Sloper", was a really valuable piece of experience. That is just the way in which nine Englishmen out of ten judge France and things French." It angered him to see the contrast between English popular ideas of French character and the lives of the Frenchmen whom he knew. One of these, a school-master, had just broken down through over-work, and Arnold suggested that during his unwelcome leisure he should be asked to write something:—

> "He has three children and they are expecting a fourth—the hardest-working, most affectionate, most honourable young couple you can imagine. And this is the people of adulterers, as John Bull conceives them! I was actually told the other day, by one who knew him well, that that nice fellow —— —— (who knows no French), would really rather like to have a war with France, he being a fastidiously virtuous person and conceiving France to be Sodom and Gomorrah."

In this work of reconciliation, as in all that he undertook, Arnold was helped and inspirited, beyond any measure that can be suggested here, by his wife, a lady whose sensitive sympathy and eager benevolence are freshly remembered in Manchester. Writing on May 3, 1895, to a friend who had sent word of his engagement, Arnold spoke of a fortunate marriage as "the one thing in this world which gives solid and lasting happiness, if one deserves it, and which is not vanity of vanities."

It is worth while to record the impression left by Arnold on the young French students who became his friends—all of them men whose lives were to be passed in inter-

preting English life, character and letters, to the youth of France. M. Lucien Mahieu wrote, two months after Arnold's death:—

"This I may say, that I have thought of him every day since the 29th of May. I have known good men, but they were not so intelligent, so full of taste and learning as he; I have met with clever people, but they were not so upright, and helpful, and disinterested, and human as he; and withal so brave, and simple, and unassuming! I consider my intercourse with him as one of my chief blessings:—

And again, on October 18, 1904:—

"I should like to tell the story of our intercourse. . . . I should relate how he took me up, a lonely, friendless, insignificant foreigner, cast away in huge London, how he found time to talk and walk with me, devising plans for my entertainment and instruction, trying to make me form an unprejudiced estimate of England and things English. He never thought, all the time, that he himself was a living proof of the excellence of English civilisation and culture. It would be a simple, uneventful story, but it would show how kind he was and eager to help and anxious to foster a good understanding between French and English."

M. Lucien Bourgogne, writing in October, 1904, said:—

"Aujourd'hui c'est une affliction pour moi de penser que . . . je ne pourrai revoir cet ami au coeur si excellent, dont la remarquable intelligence et la haute culture étaient un modèle d'humanité. Peut-être, étant donné ses idées, eût il été content de savoir que son influence sur moi a été grande et qu'avec les années j'ai toujours

mieux compris et apprécié le génie et la civilisation de son pays qu'il m'a un des premiers appris à connaître et à aimer."

M. Emile Bourdon writes on January 24, 1905:—

"Pour ma part, j'ai gardé des entretiens trop courts qu'il m'a été donné d'avoir avec lui un souvenir ineffaçable, et plus d'une fois, aux heures critiques de ma vie, j'ai regretté de ne pouvoir lui demander conseil et réconfort; du moins me suis-je efforcé de me conduire comme il me semblait qu'il m'eût engagé à le faire, en me rappellant l'exemple vivifiant de son énergie, de sa droiture et de son amour passionné du Bien. Un tel homme faisait honneur à son pays, et c'était pour nous, Français, un précieux témoignage que l'estime et la sympathie qu'il n'a cessé de professer pour notre nation, malgré les fautes et les folies qu'elle a pu commettre sous l'influence de mauvais guides."

After Arnold's death it was found that almost every line that he had ever written to any of these French friends, even mere notes of street routes hastily jotted down on half sheets of notepaper while they were in his house ten or twelve years before, had been carefully preserved.

During these years Arnold liked to keep a little stream of strangers, of some intellectual distinction, flowing through Manchester. They needed it, he would say laughingly; had not a head-master of Eton lately spoken, in the *Times*, of the "head-master" of Owens College? Arnold wanted to give Manchester its rights in such eyes; at his house were met, for several years, many of the most salient or typical figures in the life of the city, and most of them were at their best there; Arnold's own talk, when he let himself go, had a fine headlong brilliancy; one remembers

his enjoyment, the great sudden roars of laughter, the rushing narrative; and he liked almost every man's "shop"; he would seek out anyone who seemed as if he might yet do anything signally well, or who had any heat of gallant enterprise—scholars; potters with ideas; young artists bitten with unworldly admirations of Corot or the then half-ignored Rodin; young business men adventuring in verse in their evenings; he would accost each in the dialect of his own interest. To his friend, Mr. J. H. Fowler, now of Clifton College, then a master at the Manchester Grammar School, he writes:—

"So it was your colleague, Mr. Irwin, who suggested that Euripides parallel. If ever it should be possible I would ask you to introduce me to him. His "Lucian" is a favourite book of mine. Apart from Jowett's *magnum opus*, I think it is the liveliest and most idiomatic version from the Greek that we can point to of late years. The "Parasite" is rendered with a charming sly drollery, and the "Nigrinus" with a seriousness and elevation of style that suit the Greek. I do not want to bother either him or you with a correspondence, but I wish you would submit a passage from the latter to him, and some day tell me what he thinks. On p. 177 of his "Nigrinus" he renders οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτετραμμένοι "governors of cities." Should it not be "governors of provinces?"—the aggregate of city-states constituting a province? So in Horace, Od. III., iv. 76, "urbes," as Page points out, means "the world," the ancient world being a city-world. Of course I would not put my view on any point of pure scholarship against Mr. Irwin's, but, as you know, I have pottered a good deal in the provinces, and one gets to have a feeling for words dealing with provincial things."

At the same time Arnold was free from the subtle snobbishness that picks all its friends for the length of their intellectual purse; indeed he disliked sheer intellect, and was repelled by mere forensic agility in handling ideas, presenting cases and prosecuting reforms. "Mere intellectual exercise," he would say, dismissingly, of much journalism that passes as capable, and of certain highly-reputed social reformers; "yes, they are intolerable—philanthropists ἄνευ τοῦ φιλεῖν, a sort of modern version of the Sophists, who taught virtue without having it." He had, certainly, no skill in suffering fools gladly, if they were at their ease; assurance found him alarmingly monosyllabic and gruff; hollow, sounding people who live by phrases suffered strange discomforts in his company; but he could be as "tender to the bashful and merciful to the absurd" as Newman's ideal gentleman; he seemed to keep a half-humorous liking for your true, unpresentable dull dog, trundling his own little hoop of a life, with no speculation in his eyes. Perhaps it was akin to his love of all animals, "not one of whom," he would enthusiastically quote from Whitman, "is respectable, over the whole earth."

From these strenuous years—they were so tranquil too—almost the only things that seemed to stand out, dated, in Arnold's memory were some salient savours of holiday travel. They need not be put into a list. Its pell-mell look would indeed reflect his gift of serious enjoyment, in its versatility; but not in its depth; and that was what struck us most, who were his friends: this sketch of his mind at work in its prime is not of use if it gives no sense of the passion of purposeful zest with which he lived, and used his strength. With no mere flitting and dipping catholicity, he "loved of life the myriad sides" and found nothing dull on the eart

MEMOIR

LAST YEARS

By MARY A. WARD

LAST YEARS.

(By Mary A. Ward.)

It was in 1896 that Arnold felt the first real symptoms of the spinal mischief which killed him. At first the severe pain which it induced was supposed to be rheumatic, and as one turns over the letters of that date it wrings one's heart to see how hopeful he was of throwing it off, now by this method, and now by that. In the May of 1896, I begged him to come out and join us at Bellagio, that the beautiful spring of the Italian lakes might help him to conquer these new and persistent pains. He could not come. But, in August, he went to Switzerland for the holiday always so eagerly enjoyed. Alas, the holiday weeks were marked with terrible attacks of pain, and his letters from Beatenberg and Rosenlaui are piteous reading. By the autumn he was already very ill. A short holiday near Morecambe Bay, in the house lent him by his old and dear friends the Misses Gaskell, Mrs. Gaskell's daughters, was again of no avail, and in November the doctors sent him to Bournemouth to try long rest, and a milder climate than Manchester. In a letter to me of this winter he spoke of his long companionship with the "sad sister, Pain," and with gratitude of the special love and devotion which his illness had evoked in relations and friends. At Bournemouth, for a time indeed, he seemed to improve. Many days were free from pain; he was able to tricycle occasionally, and to read a good deal; while he never tired of listening to Scott's novels, which his wife read to him. In the spring of 1897 they started for the Riviera, Mentone first, then Bordighera. But the

malady made progress, though there were good times as well as bad, and his eager love of beauty, now as always, brought him moments of oblivion and delight, when he sat among the pines, looking out over mountain and sea. The hope of getting better never left him, and the smallest respite roused in him fresh projects of work.

In June, 1897, he and his wife reached Manchester again after their long absence, and Arnold hoped he might resume work again in the autumn. But, instead, the summer was marked by a serious operation, and all the later months of the year were full of suffering. In January, 1898, however, he wrote for the Fellows of King's College, Cambridge, a criticism on a Roman History Dissertation, sent in for a King's Fellowship, and was warmly thanked by the College for the care and fulness with which it was done. For a few weeks afterwards there was a gleam of improvement. He struggled down once or twice to the *Guardian* office, did some work, and seemed none the worse. But March brought another operation, which did nothing to relieve him, and so the weary months went on. His wife's diary shows that during the summer there were occasionally painless and happy days. He lay out in his hammock in the Nelson Street garden, during August, doing a little work now and then, and sometimes there is an entry, made doubly pathetic by what followed, like that of October 4th. "W. came in to dinner, sat at bottom of table, and was his delightful self, in great spirits." In November he made a desperate effort to take up night-work again, only to find it quite impossible, and at last it was evident both to himself, and to the owner and editor of the *Guardian*, that some fresh arrangement must be made. He resigned his post, the *Guardian* allowing him a pension; and the doctors urged him to try a milder climate than Manchester.

The separation from the *Guardian* was a sore grief to him; but the suffering he had gone through had gradually weaned him from his work, and he let himself hope that time and rest would make it possible for him to do occasional writing for his beloved newspaper in the future, though under changed conditions. Universal kindness was shown him in Manchester. His colleagues on the *Guardian* wrote him a joint letter of farewell, accompanying the gift of a silver vase, a reproduction of one in the famous treasure of Bosco Reale:—

"In token of our very deep sympathy and affection, and of our recognition of the part you have played in making the paper what it is. Some of us, who may say that we have been your pupils here, feel that we owe more to you than it is possible to express, and wish to thank you from our hearts for your unfailingly wise and generous help and counsel. We all unite in admiration of your work as a journalist, of your loyalty and kindness to your colleagues, and, will you allow us to add, of the splendid courage with which you have borne the sufferings of the last three years."

Arnold wrote in reply:—

"Dear friends and colleagues, I cannot thank you as I would wish for your beautiful gift and letter. But I shall always prize both as among my very dearest possessions. I shall never read the list of names appended to your letter without recalling some pleasant association with each one of them, whether they be of my seniors, contemporaries, or juniors, and without a vivid realisation of the part which each has taken in the development of the great newspaper to which we are all attached. It is my belief that an even wider influence than it has yet attained, lies before the *Guardian*, and

it will always be one of the chief interests and pleasures of my life to watch—not without a sigh of envy!—the share contributed by each one of you to its authority and usefulness.—Yours with all grateful affection, W. T. ARNOLD."

Thus closed the main chapter of his life. What remained was an epilogue, full of pathos, full also of noble endurance and not without its intervals of respite and happiness when, to use his own expression, the "black crow" of gnawing pain spread its wings and departed, and in its stead "a perching dove" in the shape of an easy day or hour, would descend on him, giving full play to all his old power of mind and heart, and awaking in those who watched him the vain hope that after all the worst of the disease might pass away, and be succeeded by a period perhaps a long period, of comparative ease.

In May, 1899, he and his wife settled in a little house in Carlyle Square, Chelsea. An upstairs library received all his cherished books, and Roman history collections. It looked west over a pleasant square garden, and here either on his sofa, or in a deep armchair, he spent most of his days, tenderly visited and remembered by his old friends, and making many new ones. Mr. Prothero, the editor of the *Quarterly*, and Mrs. Prothero were among the former; Mr. Haldane and M. Augustin Filon, the London correspondent of the *Débats*, first became personally acquainted with him after his move to London; while with Mr. St. Loe Strachey, his colleagues Mr. Hawke, Mr. J. B. Atkins and Mr. Leonard Hobhouse, Mr. Henry James, the late Mr. George Murray Smith, the well-known publisher, Mr. G. W. E. Russell, Lady Oakeley, an old Manchester friend, and others who had known him in youth or at Manchester, he renewed or strengthened links

already formed; intimate friends like Miss Eleanor Sellar, or his frequent visitor Mlle. Souvestre, and his kinsman Dr. Adolphus Ward, saw him whenever they could, and brought him books, news and precious sympathy.

Mr. Haldane writes to me:—

"I have the most vivid recollections of my visits to your brother. His interest in both German literature and German philosophy was very keen, and his talk turned much on these themes. Goethe *as a thinker* was a subject that much attracted him, and had he lived, I feel pretty sure that he would have written on this aspect of Goethe's personality. We talked also of modern Liberalism. Although he was then an invalid and could hardly move, the topic inspired him with energy, and he would discuss things as vigorously as though he had daily been listening to the debates in the House of Commons. His was a rare gift—the keenness which comes of concentration; and whether the talk was of literature or of affairs, the same qualities appeared in all he said—sincerity and fearlessness. It is not often that this type of man appears among us, and society is the poorer when one such is taken away."

And Sir Ian Hamilton has very kindly sent me the following account of a conversation he had with my brother, early in 1903. The historian and the soldier were evidently drawn to each other by a common openness and freshness of mind.

"Tidworth House, Andover,

"18th May, 1906.

"Dear Mrs. Ward,—

"Yes, I have a vivid recollection of the general effect produced on me by my encounter with the strong and sympathetic personality of your brother, but I fear

that this attempt to give an account of the event will seem to you very slight and inadequate. After so long a lapse of time details have got blurred in my memory and outlines blunted, although the pleasure and profit received remain, and ever will remain, a source of real gratitude.

"I went to see Mr. Arnold about certain parallels between English and Roman history which were then very much in my mind. . . . I wished to give them precision and point by consulting a competent authority concerning the Roman frontier provinces; the methods of keeping the legions up to strength in foreign quarters, and the characters of Augustus and Tiberius. Here my fortune led me, through the good offices of a mutual friend, to pay the, to me, memorable visit to your brother which you now ask me to describe.

'Directly I arrived we plunged into a discussion concerning the parallel offered by the Roman Empire to our own, and Mr. Arnold gave me some papers he had written on the subject, as well as some German pamphlets which proved quite invaluable. All through this part of our interview he seemed to prefer to make me expound my theories whilst he kept the conversation alive by corrections or suggestions. When he did speak he was delightfully to the point, and I felt that his words were indeed golden, each of them expressing a sincere and well-considered conviction.

"But although I had come to talk about Rome, as a matter of fact the greater part of our interview was on the subject of South Africa. The way of it was this. I admired a photograph on the mantelpiece; a photograph of the picture by Velasquez illustrating the surrender of Breda. Your brother made some illuminating remarks on the gracious, gentle, chivalrous

attitude of the victorious Spanish general, whose hand was resting protectively upon the shoulder of his conquered enemy. I was thereby led to speak of General Delarey, who had once told me that his family were of Spanish origin, although they emigrated to South Africa as French Huguenots. I said that Delarey had inherited the courtly instincts of the Spanish general at Breda. His manners were perhaps those of the veldt rather than of the London drawing-room, but he was none the less for that essentially a Spanish grandee of the 16th century.

"As far as I can recollect, the course of our subsequent conversation took something of the following shape—Mr. Arnold guiding and sustaining it by drawing out such items of practical knowledge as I had been able to glean during the war. We discussed a might-have-been. By the time peace was concluded with the Boers, the continuous, prolonged fighting had burnt up most of the old rancours and jealousies which, since Majuba, had distracted the unhappy South African land. The whole country was sick unto death of war; the Anglo-Saxons were temporarily dominant; the old-fashioned Boers were a law-abiding and, in their own fashion, a generous and chivalrous race. There was nothing so fantastic as was generally supposed in the view that the moment of signing the terms of peace had been the moment of all others for proclaiming our confidence that the Dutch would loyally fulfil their share of the conditions. It was at least conceivable that no harm, but much good, might have resulted had the disarmament of the Boers been immediately followed by the granting of a Constitution and the announcement that every British soldier should be withdrawn from the Transvaal and Orange Colony

as soon as the new Government found they could dispense with their services. The Boers had lost their teeth; the British were too weary to be exultant. Left at that moment to stew in their own juice, a good, working, compromise Government might have evolved itself without too much politics or talking. For a few weeks the conquerors had been vouchsafed a fair, sporting chance of extricating themselves for ever from the expense and unpopularity of directly governing a difficult country and a difficult congeries of people. But, as I pointed out, nowhere amidst any section of the British public or press had an inclination been shown to run a big risk for the sake of perhaps doing as big a thing as has ever been done in history. Under such conditions we must realise that we had avoided the off chance of honourable disaster only at the cost of a certain, long period of expenditure, responsibility and worry, and that we had now got to make the best of the results of our own choice. Half measures were no use. Far from reducing our garrison we should now, if possible, strengthen it and console ourselves by regarding it as a conveniently posted reserve to India, which is only separated from South Africa by that British lake the Indian Ocean.

"There was a look of suffering about him, but, in his manner or talk, not a vestige of the egotism or self-centrement of an invalid. The walls of the room were covered with books, and as he moved forward to get one of them for a reference to some point in the discussion, I could clearly see that they were his own familiar friends. I was greatly impressed by his alertness of sympathy for the interests of other people. I specially and clearly remember his habit of listening with a slow sympathetic smile which gave the en-

couraging impression that, whether he agreed or not, he liked hearing what his visitor had to say.

"Finally, I realised as I left the little house that I had enjoyed a rare privilege, and that although Mr. Arnold was shut out by cruel circumstances from the whirl of active life, his mind rose superior to his frail body and moved habitually on the plane of big thoughts and bold ideas.

"Yours sincerely,

"IAN HAMILTON."

With M. Augustin Filon, Arnold made friends *à propo* of an article written by the French journalist for th *Manchester Guardian*. It seems to have been throug Arnold that the article was sent to the *Mancheste Guardian*, and in announcing its publication to the write he adds:—

"May I say for myself personally that I have long been a reader and admirer of your work? I think I have read almost everything of yours in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. . . . . If you ever had the leisure and inclination to come so far as this house, you and Madame Filon would find two persons—for I speak for my wife as well as for myself—who would regard such a visit as an honour as well as a pleasure."

M. Filon came; the two men talked long and pleasantly; and the day after the visit Arnold wrote to his new acquaintance:—

"Friendship is a delicate plant, and to reach after it too quickly is sometimes the best way to tear it up by the roots. Still I cannot help telling you, after our meeting of yesterday, that it will be your fault, not mine, if we do not make friends. We are no longer young, either of us, and one may be excused for cutting

> [illegible] the preliminaries and hesitancies of friendship which are natural with young people. Then we have both suffered . . . . and neither of us has to envy in the other the brutal superiority of the robust! Moreover, you meet the world with a pleasant humour which I find very exemplary and consoling; and I am sure that to see more of you would do me good. Whether the converse is likely I by no means dare say."

The fruits of this brief but real friendship will be seen in certain lines which I hope to quote later on, when M. Filon sums up for a French audience the impression which Arnold had made upon him.

None of us who saw William Arnold at this time in the little room in Carlyle Square, will ever, I think, forget the wasted, stooping form, the brooding look, born of long suffering, with which he would sometimes greet even those nearest and most familiar—and then the sudden kindling, the old humorous smile, the talk, now whimsical and affectionate, now packed with thought and information on some book that interested him, some project of travel, or some visit of a friend. Never was his mind more active than during some of these later years. He took all his old interest in the subjects at which his friends might be working. His devotion to the *Guardian* never flagged. He kept a constant and critical eye on its columns, wrote often to the friends who were still working on its staff, and never missed an opportunity of serving it. Meanwhile he kept up with his own subject, and added much to his Roman history notes and collections during this time. He revised his father's edition of Dryden's "Essay on Dramatic Poetry" for the Clarendon Press, and he was still engaged in a similar revision of Thomas Arnold's "Selections from Addison" when he died. For the Dryden he read largely—"all

Dryden's prose, all Corneille's, and a whole lot of miscellaneous books from Ben Jonson and Daniel downwards," —and began to look forward to the possibility of more editing of English texts. In 1903 he wrote a biographical article on his father, "Thomas Arnold the Younger," for *The Century* magazine, and contributed besides a striking series of letters on "German Ambitions" to the *Spectator*, which were afterwards republished in book form. His object in these letters was to draw attention to the German "Flotten-Literatur" and the hostile attitude towards England of the German Chauvinist press. The number and variety of the German books and pamphlets quoted in them is, as usual, astounding. Mr. Strachey recalls how he would "tear the heart" out of them in an incredibly short time, and with what practised ease he first made himself acquainted with the whole 'lie' of the literature, and then gathered in all that the foreign booksellers of London could provide him with. One of his darling projects of the last two years was a new edition of Mrs. Gaskell. He had always been the faithful reader of her books; her daughters had been to him the kindest of friends; and nothing could have been more agreeable to him than the proposal made to him by Mr. Reginald Smith that he should undertake the rearranging and editing of her novels and tales with such separate Introductions as might be necessary. He at once began to scheme and plan; the Miss Gaskells promised to help him; but before his death he had done no more than collect a good many notes, and arrange a new provisional order of the books.

The chief new study of these later years, however, was Goethe. In May, 1901, he wrote me, "I read Goethe, and have Miss Austen read to me. If I was up to serious composition—which I am not at present—I would tackle

Goethe. I am amazed at the lack of serious English work on him." By November of the same year, he was "getting *vertieft* in Goethe. I am more and more impressed with the need of a new life of Goethe." A birthday present of a cheque to spend on Goethe books, brought him "a delightful hour in the big bookshop" at Montreux, where he and his wife were then wintering, "getting Goethe books which had been sent me on approval, and which I had hitherto refused, and ordering others, and generally enjoying myself. The next great step in my Goethe-Forschungen must be a visit to Weimar—perhaps next year, if I am up to it. . . . The amount of new material since Lewes, and even since Düntzner, is *kolossal.* Two big volumes at least would be wanted. But, alas! can I reasonably hope to do it when a single letter tires me? Perhaps a typewriter might make things easier for me. My twenty years of journalism seem to have left behind them a permanent weakness so far as writing is concerned." In March of the following year, Mr. Prothero pleased him by asking him to write a Goethe article for the *Quarterly.* His mind played eagerly with the project, and the full notebooks grew fuller still. But by a pathetic, half-confessed adjustment of the task to his powers, he gradually gave up the plan of writing on the great Goethe himself. In the course of his reading, the figure of 'Frau Aja,' the mother from whom Goethe inherited his "lust zu fabuliren" had caught Arnold's quick imagination. He read everything he could lay hands on about her, and another notebook was soon filled. But ultimately it was his niece Janet—Mrs. George Trevelyan—who, with tender care, made use of these notes in an article for the *Quarterly,* called "Goethe's mother," which contained a short sketch of Arnold, and was published in October, 1905.

Meanwhile his classics were always beside him. His little Homer is scored with fresh notes, made about this time. He read Virgil through again, and much of the Greek drama. And all through these years of pain, when his intellectual interests were all of active life that remained to him, every power of the heart remained as warm and constant as ever. His sympathy with his sisters and brothers, his grateful affection towards his wife's cousin and his own life-long friend Mrs. Eaden, towards Mrs. Wale, his mother-in-law, and two other kind cousins, Miss Mildred Wale and Mrs. Walter Smith, who thought no trouble too great to take if it might soothe and help him, his tenderness towards his nieces and nephews—these things never failed, through all the pre-occupations of illness. Of a young relation, who was spending fifteen months in Indian travel, he wrote: "All your news about —— is delightful. What pleasanter spectacle is there on this earth than a high-minded and generous young man, with all this shining, wonderful, beautiful world before him, and with such advantages for making the best of extraordinary opportunities?" In all my books as they came out he took the old critical interest. "Eleanor," if I remember right, did not much appeal to him, but, to my delight, he found "great help and distraction, during a dark time, in 'Lady Rose's Daughter.'" "The *Beschreibung* in it," he wrote, "is reduced to the minimum, and the *Handlung* brought to a maximum, as the great Vischer says they ought to be." Of discussion, or long descriptions in a novel, he was always impatient. He liked a story to be "ripely human, and tasting of life." Mrs. Oliphant delighted him; at her best he put her very high, and there was scarcely a story of hers that he could not read or hear with pleasure. How many hours were charmed or lightened by her books! I have often wished

I could have told her. Trollops, too, was a beguiler of whom he never tired. And one book, Miss Lawless's "Major Lawrence," was a real event in the last winter of his life. "How good it is!" he would say, dwelling on the points of it with all the shrewdness of his best days; "why isn't it better known?"

With politics, naturally, through the dark years of the war in South Africa, his soul was much vexed. He could not whole-heartedly accept the English plea; but once in for the struggle, he suffered, and felt, and triumphed with the army. At the beginning, he was inclined to ask a correspondent who endorsed the war, whether "you virtuous and capable people, who support the war at home, are not really dupes and pawns in the Rhodesian game;" but as time went on, he more and more inclined to believe the trial of strength to have been past the avoiding of statesmen; and he never at any time joined in the denunciation of the army to be found in certain Liberal papers during the later stages of the war. Just as in 1895, *à propos* of Armenia, he had refused to make a dogma out of "English brutality," so now. "With all our faults ours is the humanest and most civilised of all armies. . . . The point is, are we justified *in suppressing a nationality?* To argue the question on a theory of our special depravity, and Boer special virtue, is absurd and irrelevant, besides being dead contrary to the plain facts." None the less, the doubt expressed in this last quotation weighed on him heavily. His feeling for his country indeed was natural, pugnacious, human; soon set aglow. Of an article on the work of Treitschke by an English scholar, he says on January 10th, 1897: "I thought it too indulgent, from an English and Liberal paper to that hater and contemner of England, and of every Liberal idea." "Still," he adds, characteristically, "it was

interesting." Yet no one could have been less Chauvinist than he. Keenly as he felt the ill-will of certain strata of German society towards England, which he illustrated in the letters to the *Spectator*, he was sensitive lest his friends should misread him, especially those among them who realised the passionate respect he felt for the Germans in the field of knowledge. "Thanks," he writes on July 9, 1902, "about the 'Spec.' letter. I am glad that neither you nor Morley (who sent me a kind message about it and 'was glad I had written it') misunderstood it. One would rather do anything than fortify the Jingoes just at present."

And of a review of the book he writes that it was "exactly what I wanted—emphasising the fact that the book was no mere diatribe against the Germans." But he believed that the possibility of future menace from Pan-Germanism was serious, and that the proper security against it was a closer friendship between England and France.

Ah! how good it is to remember that in the long struggle of these years there were, as I have already said, some golden moments of rest and ease, when his naturally happy nature could expand in the old ways. From the summer of 1901 to the summer of 1902, he and his wife were in Switzerland, at Chésières, Clarens, Charnex and Mont Bary—in the Gruyére country which he loved, where the mountains and the flowers spoke to him with the same magic as in his youth. "I am basking in the sun on our balcony," he writes from Chésières, "with the Dent du Midi and the Aiguille Verte in front of me, and the air crystal-pure and life-giving. . . . The weather here has turned to *beau fixe*, only that there is generally a heat-mist in the air, which veils, or rather blurs, the distant peaks. The hotel commands a regular drop-scene view. Chésières

and Villars take the sunshine, on a great semi-circular terrace, in the parky zone, with the north end of the Mont Blanc range framed in between the Muveran and the Dent du Midi. In the morning I look into the heart of an untrampled glacier, quite level, and girt by black *aiguilles* which cast long, solemn shadows. Oh, to be the first that ever burst into that silent sea of ice, on one's way from the Chamonix valley to the Val Ferret or Orsières! This view has given me an idea—that the ideal method of exploration would be to live for a week in a place commanding a view into the innermost recesses of a range, and then to go over to the range *and do it*. How delicious it would be to make one's way into that great sheet of dazzling *névé*, and suddenly to realise that this was the friend into whose heart one had looked every morning before breakfast at a distance of thirty miles away! One commands the Weisshorn, I believe, in a similar way from Montana, above Sierre, the Combin from Champex, and so on." From Charnex he wrote happily in 1903: "The ground drops rapidly from here to the Lake, and one looks to blue lake through white pear and cherry blossom, as in the old Ruskinian days before the vine-planting began."

Midway between the Swiss and the Pyrenean experiences I captured him for a few precious weeks on the Lake of Como in 1903. One afternoon comes back to me,—an afternoon in May. On a loggia, garlanded and tapestried with roses, a group was gathered, listening to a translation into English blank verse of certain of the *Fioretti*, read by the poet-translator[1] in person. The air was heavy with the scent of roses; outside the sun burned on dazzling bushes of white spirea, on azaleas in full flower, on the cypresses flanking a flight of steps descending to the lake,

1. Mr. James Rhoades.

on the blue water spreading towards Lecco, on the craggy face of Monte Grigna. Butterflies hovered outside; sometimes a nightingale sang in the trees behind the house. And on his long chair, Arnold lay, his wasted form warmly wrapped, his fine brow bent forward, his intent and smiling eyes bent upon the reader, his varying look reflecting the pleasure stirred by the fine scholarship and delicate simplicity of the verse. . . . And again I remember a strange experience—strange when one connects it with his frail state. We had started from Cadenabbia on a bright afternoon, in a rowing boat, for Varenna across the lake. The water was smooth on the Cadenabbia side, but as soon as we got well out into the middle of the lake the wind caught us and the troubled water from the Lecco arm. It became extremely rough, and there was still half the lake to cross. Arnold looked round him, grasped the situation, shook himself out of the languor of illness, and took command. Steering himself, he peremptorily gave the orders, as though it had been the river at Oxford; his iron will and presence of mind transfiguring his physical weakness, and bringing the boat and its load safe to land out of a disagreeable experience. I remember, when we were certain it had done him no harm, the kind of thrill I felt,—a thrill of joy, as though once more the ghost of his young strength had appeared among us, effacing years and pain.

So the months passed, and it seemed for long as though the disease made no striking progress. But in the summer of 1903, he rapidly lost strength. The winter was passed in great suffering, but in the spring of 1904 there was a certain rally. He began to see his friends and to read again, and in mid-March he and Mrs. Arnold started for the Pyrenees. When I said good-bye to him at Charing Cross, it was with better hopes than I had felt for months.

They settled in a friend's house near St. Jean de Luz, and for two months Arnold enjoyed the beauty of the Pyrenean spring, and the kindness of many friends old and new. "Oh, such a heavenly country of foothills!" he wrote—"such sun, such divine, aromatic air." He surrounded himself with books, many of them lent him by the kind friend Mr. Butler Clarke, whose pretty Basque cottage was close by. Nothing could have been more fortunate than the chance which brought Arnold into Mr. Butler Clarke's neighbourhood at that moment. Mr. Butler Clarke was first of all an admirable scholar in paths little trodden by Englishmen. From him we might —but for his early death—have received that History of Early Spain, which still remains a lack in historical literature, never to be filled except by one who is, as he was, a master both of Spanish and Arabic. His fresh and original power of research attracted Arnold,—but his personality still more. "There were few afternoons that we did not see him," writes Mrs. Arnold, "hurrying down the broken grass-slope that led by a short cut to our steep drive, with a pile of books under each arm. The two men would talk happily in the rose-girt verandah, generally on a subject which specially fascinated Willie,—a book of importance which Butler was planning. The delicate, thoughtful kindness of the younger man was shown to us in a hundred ways. He himself was not strong, and could only work a few hours in the day. But nothing hindered him when it was a question of help. That workman's library of his at Aice Errota, with its big writing table, and its ranks of books—a few rare curios and Moorish tiles gleaming here and there—will stand lastingly in many a mind. We spent a last long afternoon in it, and in his blooming garden, where the distant wash of the sea was heard, and its freshness mingled with the fresh borders of heavily per-

fumed spring flowers. Then when our night's journey home had suddenly to be planned, a dazzling May noon saw him taking our luggage himself to Biarritz for booking. He joined us there later in the train, and cheered Willie with his bright presence as far as Bayonne, where we felt for the last time the pressure of that kind hand, and heard his last encouraging words as the train moved on." Alas! the younger man has now followed the older into the Great Silence.

I meanwhile was at Cadenabbia, working at a novel, and rejoicing in the thought of the little household at St. Jean de Luz. Letters from the villa showed my brother reading and driving, delighting in the Basque people and country. "He may live many years yet, and the stage of acute suffering has passed away," one said to oneself, in thankfulness. But suddenly came bad news. There had been an attack, a change for the worse. They started for home, and I was hastily summoned. I reached London to find him in his own room at Carlyle Square—dying. Some lesion had taken place in the brain, and hope was gone. Yet he knew me perfectly, threw his arm round my neck, and murmured happily that he had done some "wonderful work" at St. Jean de Luz. For a few days he lingered. His brother, his two younger sisters, to whom he was always devoted, and Mrs Eaden came; two of his brothers-in-law, the Rev. F. E. B. Wale, and his life-long friend, Edward Allen, from their distant homes, and Mr. Montague, and Mrs. Sellar. "I leaned over him," wrote Mrs. Sellar, "and kissed his forehead, and he faintly smiled, and I left the room, feeling "they love him not, That would upon the rack of this rough world, Stretch him out longer." Some pathetic murmurs now and then seemed to give glimpses into depths we could not reach. "God only knows what I have suffered" . . ."It's

all love." . . . "God is *the strong* power" . . . and, scarcely breathed, on the last day before his death, "I love God . . . I love God!" Gradually the sunburn which still told of the hot days at St. Jean de Luz passed away; the aspect grew more majestic, more remote. He lay, watched by his devoted wife, whose life had been in his, and we all came and went. On Sunday morning, May 29th, there was a celebration of the Holy Communion in his room, but he was unconscious, and on Sunday afternoon he passed away. A few days later, on June 2nd, 1904, he was buried in the beautiful churchyard of Little Shelford, Cambridge, amid his wife's kindred.

After his death many letters reached Mrs. Arnold. I can only quote one or two. One of the most brilliant of English scholars wrote: "A rare and beautiful spirit has passed away in your husband. Few men have attracted me as he did, for qualities of mind and heart. And I have watched now for years with silent admiration his heroic struggle against pain and death." And another, also a distinguished man of letters, and for a time a colleague of Arnold's at Manchester, wrote to a friend: "I remember in a visit to town some years ago, the impression, standing out beyond all others, of Arnold, with death then in his face, and holding on hard to every theme and interest in life,—looking like a disembodied spirit, and speaking with that sort of authority—on the influence of Goethe and the like. I thought that bodily wreck gave his judgments a new touch of refinement and originality. The robustness, force, etc., became a higher *quality*." His cousin, Mrs. Vere O'Brien, struck something of the same note: "Every time that I was allowed to be with him of late, and to hear his kind cousinly voice, and see that look on his calm patient face—as of one that had gone through mysterious depths of suffering unknown

to most of us in our easy-going lives—I came away with a feeling of reverence that was stronger even than pity—and with a sense that it had been good for me to be there—if only for a few minutes."

Of public tributes, hidden as his life had been, there were a good many. The long obituary notice in the *Manchester Guardian*, written by his former colleagues, together with the notice in the *Times*, showed the world something of the wealth and variety of his nature, and in the columns of the *Débats*, M. Filon, one of the French friends he so gladly made and so faithfully kept, drew a portrait of him as "A Liberal," which summed up perhaps what was most representative and significant in his life—those features and traits by which he would have been most willing to be remembered. "In the continuous effort to understand public questions, wherein," said M. Filon, "he acted as a guide to so many others, Arnold was himself guided by the spirit and method he had acquired through his Roman History research. Is not Roman History, indeed, the best school for the politician? And to speak more generally, does not the whole secret of good journalism depend upon the application to the men and events of the passing hour, of the same critical processes which we apply to the men and events of 2,000 years ago? The ordinary journalist is an advocate, the good journalist is a historian. Arnold was that man."

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

ARNOLD at his death left behind him eight chapters of a history of the Early Roman Empire, on which he had been engaged for some years. Of these one appeared to be in a less advanced state of preparation. The others are now published. None however had received his last touches, and this must explain the occasional repetitions and expressions of views which are not strictly consistent. A few obvious slips due to want of revision have been corrected by the editor, who has added some notes, indicated by square brackets. The editor is also responsible for the appendices at the end of Chapters III. and IV., and for the bibliographical note.

Roman history had always attracted Arnold—partly, it may be, through the example of his grandfather. In 1879 he gained the Arnold Prize at Oxford for an essay on Roman Provincial Administration, which is still the best book in English on the subject, and in 1886 he published an elaborate edition of that portion of the elder Arnold's history, which treats of the Second Punic War. He arranged to write a manual of the Early Roman Empire, and when circumstances led him to give up this plan he resolved to write an original work on the subject. The demands of his profession and later his long illness prevented him from coming near to the completion of this more ambitious design. The change nevertheless was fortunate, for a mere exposition of the results achieved by others would have been of less value to his readers, as it would certainly have given less satisfaction to his curious and scholarly mind.

The task involved great labour. As Mommsen says

somewhere, Roman history is a melancholy heap of ruins. The materials for its reconstruction are hard to find and harder to fit together. The ancient writers, on which Gibbon and with less excuse Merivale depended so greatly, are themselves few in number, and, while often loquacious on trifles, are silent on much which a modern student of history desires to know. These deficiencies must be made good by the collection and arrangement of a host of minute particulars supplied by coins and inscriptions, by monuments of ancient art and by works of modern travel. Much has been done of late years to systematise the results. Treatises on numismatics like those of Babelon and Cohen have been published. The volumes of the *Corpus* of Inscriptions have steadily appeared for more than thirty years, and now number some thirty volumes. The labour of scholars such as Mommsen, Marquardt, and Gardthausen has made clear much that was obscure. But many problems still remain unsolved, and from year to year new material accumulates, undigested and unarranged, often suggesting as many difficulties as it can solve, material which has to be unearthed from the scattered pages of periodical literature and the proceedings of learned societies in many of the countries which Rome conquered or failed to conquer. Moreover the vast extent of the Roman Empire requires a considerable knowledge of geography and ethnology. Its historian should be something of a traveller, and he must supplement what little he can see in person by the perusal of a multitude of books of modern exploration.

How far Arnold was qualified for the office of a historian by his diligence—its primary requisite—may be ascertained by an attempt to verify his statements—an investigation which will soon show how much learning underlies his easy narrative. But this is also attested by the scaffolding

which he raised but was not permitted to use—the long row of well-filled notebooks, his notes of references to learned periodicals and even his cuttings from the daily press whence he thought he might throw some light on Roman times, or perhaps only obtain a telling comparison from some modern event or institution. If one may venture a criticism, he carried this virtue too far, and the unusual range of his interests sometimes induced him to spend his time on the pursuit of some minor point, forgetting how great a task he had still to carry out and how many bye-paths of ancient history are likely in the present state of the evidence to prove blind-alleys.

Such a disposition is free at all events from the temptation to rash judgments, and the very amount of his material made Arnold doubly careful in drawing inferences. On the first page of all the chapters now published the margins are crowded in their original form with memoranda—queries whether he had over-emphasised this point or understated that, a note that he must read or re-read some German book or article before passing for press, or a vigorous criticism of his own style or arrangement in some particular section. Such features do not indicate a temperament likely to facilitate an author's progress, but what is done is well done, and their sobriety stands in pleasant contrast with the ill-informed dogmatism of much that has been written on Roman History in modern times.

The fact that we have only a fragment before us, a fragment which itself was considered by the author to need much further labour, makes it specially hard to decide what was Arnold's conception of history. But even from a fragment some estimate may be attempted if we remember how conjectural such an estimate must be.

In the view of history as a theatre for the unfolding of great personalities he had comparatively little interest. This may have been in part owing to the period with which he dealt. The golden age of Roman character which furnished such noble studies to Livy and Plutarch was past. The age of Augustus was too placid for the play of the heroic virtues. The outstanding figures of the early Empire—for we may pass over the futile aristocrats who posed as the inheritors of the Republican tradition—were either persons ruined by absolute power and unlimited license or vigorous, hard-working statesmen with the prosaic virtues of the successful business man. On the former class—a class who have formed the theme of much eloquence ancient and modern—Arnold spends little time, passing over the vices and follies of Julia as briefly as his subject will allow. His only full-length portraits are Augustus and Agrippa, the one a strange mixture of selfishness and patriotism, ruthlessly sacrificing the lives of his enemies, his own ease, and the happiness of his family to the new composite deity—*Roma et Augustus*; the other the laborious, able administrator, resigned to the knowledge that he could never aspire to the first place.

History in Arnold's view dealt more with communities than with individuals. Augustus' character was of importance not so much for its psychological interest as for its being a factor in reshaping the Roman Constitution and in modifying the relations of Rome and her subjects, that is, in its constitutional and imperial consequences. Two of the chapters are devoted to the Constitution; that he did not dwell longer on it was doubtless due to the fact that the field had been thoroughly worked over by his predecessors, and while here and there minor points remained in dispute it was only necessary to

restate in brief space the results already ascertained Moreover the exact division of power between Senate and Emperor was not of prime importance. From the first the Emperor was the predominant partner, and his share of power was always becoming larger.

The real point of importance for the historian of that period is not the relation of the two partners in the government, but the relations between governors and governed. The artificial arrangements of the Dyarchy had no influence on subsequent ages; it is superfluous to explain the influence of the Roman Empire for the last two thousand years.

Arnold had grasped this fact. Even in his two chapters on the Constitution a part is devoted to general provincial administration, and in what follows he deals mainly with the several provinces of the Empire. He made it his task to show the condition of these lands before the coming of the Romans and the conditions resulting from the contact of the two diverse elements, and to point out how Roman influence was deeper in one place and weaker in another, and what was the limit at which it ceased to exist.

There was an additional attraction to Arnold in this aspect of his subject. Through his work as a journalist, perhaps also by a natural bent, he was deeply interested in all imperial questions. The Roman Empire was the first great Imperial experiment which rose above the methods of brute force or mere well-devised bureaucracy. Rome made a genuine effort to unite Liberty and Empire and though she ultimately failed she offered, if not political lessons, which it is always hard to deduce correctly, at least a highly interesting analogy to similar modern experiments. In particular the English historian is irresistibly reminded of the British Empire, and especially of its great Indian dependency. To this Arnold's thoughts often turned

The abolition of the darker side of the religion of the Druids recalled the suppression of Suttee and Juggernaut. The buffer state of Siam reminded him of the similar defence erected by Rome on the Euphrates. The Client Princes of the Roman Empire came for him under the same category as the protected rulers of India. In the collections which he made for his history there is much that deals with modern imperial topics—an article in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* on *Native India* by Sir Lepel Griffin, a speech by Sir Henry Fowler on Indian Government, or an article on Tonkin in the *Journal des Débats*. It is possible that the search for analogies of which he was so fond may have taken him too far and have caused him to forget, as most historians except Finlay have forgotten, the terrible price which was paid first by the conquered and then by the conquerors for the establishment of the Roman Empire. Its excellent organisation need not blind us to the fact that after all the Romans were still near the period when a war of conquest was waged with the most frankly materialistic aims.

There were other reasons which attracted Arnold to the subject. In the preceding memoir it has already been shown how fond he was of geography and travel, how interested in foreigners, how anxious that a better understanding should prevail between them and his fellow-countrymen. All this gave additional zest to his study of an empire which had spread over the lands now occupied by great modern nations. He was a diligent visitor of Roman sites, and the knowledge thus acquired lends picturesque touches to his narrative, as when he mentions the black walls and red roofs of Nyon, or that "miracle of grace and strength" the Pont du Gard. And it was not only such monuments as the Arch at Igel or the great rampart stretching from

Rhine to Danube which were memorials to him of Roman days, but also some touch of custom or language, the black dress of a Spaniard or the name of a French Bishopric, while the Provençal tongue recalled to him how in that corner of France, that Italy in Gaul, Rome had established herself longest and most securely.

His survey of the Provinces was still unfinished when he died. Such important parts as Roman Africa and Roman Britain were wanting. If we judge by mere bulk, he had accomplished little. But, apart from the quality of his writing, which it has been the object of the preceding paragraphs to explain, it is well to remember that the influence of a scholar's life may not be measured by his published work. It was not only that he freely communicated his knowledge and advice or lent his books freely to those who asked. His learning was an instrument of culture for character as well as for intellect, and such culture may exercise as deep and permanent an influence as printed books.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL POWER

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER I.

The Foundations of the Imperial Power.

Octavian, who was born in the year of Cicero's consulship and Catiline's conspiracy, was only thirty-five years of age when, in the year B.C. 28, he seriously took in hand that immense reorganisation not only of Rome and Italy but also of the Roman world which is indelibly associated with his name. He had travelled far since the day when he landed in Italy, a friendless and almost powerless boy, in order to take up the heritage of the great Julius, his uncle and adoptive father. The assassins had been hunted to their death, and every man who had disputed his exclusive right to take his father's place was either dead or only allowed to live because, like Lepidus, he had become completely insignificant. These surprising results had been achieved by a man who was neither a great soldier nor a great demagogue, who had little of the genius and nothing of the fascination of Julius Cæsar. What is the explanation? It lies partly in the fact that Octavian, though not a great man, was a highly capable one, and read character shrewdly enough to use good instruments, but most of all no doubt in the nature of the time. It is easy to be unjust to Octavian, who after all did nothing really badly, and who even as a soldier had been quite respectable. In the hard fought Dalmatian war of B.C. 36 he had shown distinguished personal bravery, and, military success being essential to every Roman who aspired to stand in the first rank, but

above all essential to the heir-apparent of the greatest soldier that Rome produced, he commanded armies in the field, and commanded them tolerably well. Moreover his deficiencies in that line were made good by his old school-friend and tested comrade Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. Agrippa, a veteran commander and a soldier before all things, was at least the equal of Antony in the art of war, and he had no Cleopatra to distract him. Octavian was not only fortunate in such friends and subordinates as Agrippa and Maecenas; he was also fortunate in his enemies. Antony threw away magnificent opportunities, and Octavian profited more by his rival's mistakes than by his own achievements. It was characteristic of Octavian that he never failed to make the most of an opportunity. A cold-blooded man of Northern temperament, who never lost his head, he had peculiar qualifications for playing the game of intrigue calculated violence and calculated clemency, which finally left him the undisputed master of the Southerns who obeyed and feared but never really liked him. He was cruel when it suited him, both in the days of the Proscriptions and after Actium, and, as his cruelty was supposed to be deliberate and cold-blooded, it attracted incomparably more odium than did the hot wrath of the gallant Antony. The pale, lymphatic man, with bad teeth and weak health, who never unbent and was never quite natural, who even in the privacy of his own home was always dressed in readiness to appear in public, and who, when he had anything important to say to his wife, put it down on paper first so that he might use neither one word more nor one word less than he intended, was not the man to be beloved. But he was the man to fill those whom he had to manage with fear, uneasiness and almost awe. The kingly serenity of his gaze was such that it is said to have deterred a would-be assassin from his purpose,

and he proved, not indeed the most magnificent or the most popular, but the most dignified of sovereigns.[1]

The essential thing about Octavian was that he was Julius Cæsar's nephew and adopted son. Had there not been a greater man of the blood before him, he would no more have ruled Rome than Napoleon III., without similar advantages, would have ruled France. Octavian was no initiator, no pathfinder; he was a successor and an heir. He never swerved from the determination to take up that succession and to enjoy that heritage; but Cæsar's end was a warning to him, and he had no idea of losing the substance for the shadow. He never forgot that the generation which he had to manage had "seen the Republic," [2] and he did not mean to be assassinated if he could help it. Moreover, though, through his mother, he had the blood of the Julii in his veins; on the other side he came of an old-fashioned provincial stock which had contributed its first representative to the Senate in the person of Octavian's own father, and the prestige of the Senate and of the Republic generally loomed far larger to his eyes than it did to those of the great Roman aristocrat who had seen both too near to have any illusions left. Fate made Octavian a great innovator, but he was a born conservative. It is impossible to say precisely what system Julius Cæsar had it in his mind to found. Probably he would have stopped short of an undisguised hereditary monarchy. It is not open even to a man of genius to transcend altogether the conditions of his time, and the Romans would not have

[1. For this description of Augustus see Suetonius Aug., 79-84. The statement that he was always dressed ready to appear in public seems too strong. All Suetonius (ch. 82) implies is that his delicate constitution required him while walking in the open air in his own grounds to wear the broad-brimmed travelling hat.]

2. Tacitus, Ann. i. 3, lays special stress on the fact that by the last year of Augustus a new generation, born and bred under the Empire, had come upon the scene:—quotusquisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset?

accepted hereditary monarchy even from Cæsar. But Cæsar went very near to monarchy when he accepted the dictatorship for life. To the Roman ear the name of dictator was only less odious than that of king, and a life-dictatorship was a contradiction in terms, carrying with it, as every one saw, the reality of kingly power.[1] One of Antony's first acts after Cæsar's death was to propose, amid the acclamations of the Senate, the abolition of the dictatorship for good and all, and Octavian, penetrated as he was with the constitutional ideas of a thorough-going Roman, and anxious above all things to avoid unnecessary odium, had no notion of attempting its restoration. In that respect he deliberately eschewed Cæsar's example as unsound. Still more important was the contrast between the attitude of the two men towards the Senate. The marked disrespect with which Cæsar treated it on a famous public occasion was one of the pretexts for his assassination, and the way in which he increased its numbers and admitted into it all manner of riff-raff betrayed the fixed intention to weaken and degrade it. He apparently had no idea of ruling through or with that august and famous body, and the conspiracy to which he owed his death was a conspiracy of senators. In these and other respects Cæsar was to Octavian as much a warning as a model.

Octavian, not less than Cæsar, represented at bottom the triumph of the popular party, of the democracy over the aristocracy, of the Comitia over the Senate. In that struggle of centuries between the Senate and the magistrates, which really is nothing less than the constitutional history of Rome, the magistrates had at last got the best of it. They had done so by making the provinces their basis, and the Comitia their tool. The fundamental idea

1. "Quae vim jam regiae potestatis obsederat." Cicero Phil., i. 1.

of the Republic was that the Senate governed and that the magistrates, limited to a one-year term of office, and compelled, each of them, to divide even that with a colleague of equal and independent powers, were its servants at command. But the Republic contained within itself the fatal seed of weakness which brought about its ending. However much in practice and with the assent of all good citizens, the Senate outweighed and overshadowed the Comitia, none the less the Comitia, in other words the adult male community, in theory remained sovereign. It had a perfect right to give what offices it pleased, and under what conditions it pleased, and no Roman could dispute the legitimacy of its authority for a moment. For all that, such intervention on the part of the Comitia, when that assembly nominally included all Roman citizens, in other words all Italy, but in reality consisted of the Roman mob, was quite intolerable. The Comitia was the paid and servile tool of any unscrupulous demagogue or ambitious soldier who wanted to make his way faster than the Senate would let him, or in spite of it. It was perfectly incompetent for the control of great affairs, and perfectly corrupt. Its intervention, too, was in the deepest sense unconstitutional, for the senatorial control, originally a usurpation, had been legitimized by great achievements and by the assent of many generations, and the Comitia had gradually become the fifth wheel of the coach, with a position comparable to the present position of the English Crown. To revive its full sovereign powers at the expense of the Senate was like reviving the monarchy of Henry VIII. in the nineteenth century. In fact it was too much of an outrage and a farce to last. None of the successful generals and politicians who received extraordinary powers from the sovereign authority regarded it as anything but a useful tool. They had no idea whatever

of accepting it as master. In that respect there was no difference between Julius Cæsar and Octavian. The difference between them was that the former was apparently content not merely to rise to empire by its means but, even after he had so risen, to make its vote the source and sanction of his sovereign power; while the latter, to whom the revolutionary temper was thoroughly alien, though he himself was a child of the revolution, had nothing more at heart than to kick over the ladder by which he had mounted, and to rehabilitate the Senate. Octavian was not the first revolutionary leader, and he will not be the last, whose success has been at once signalised by a close understanding and alliance with the conservative forces which he had overcome.

Octavian's desire was to wash himself clean from the revolutionary taint by means of the Senate. The whole period of the Triumvirate had been both in form and in fact one long usurpation,[1] which would have been quite intolerable to Octavian if he had not been the chief gainer by it, and he was eager to win back to firm constitutional standing-ground. He was thoroughly sick of mob-rule and he would have no more of it, and all his deep-lying constitutional and conservative instincts disposed him to make every use of the Senate now that he need no longer fear it.[2] But before he could plausibly make use of the

[1. The earlier period of the triumvirate, 43-38 B.C., was formally constitutional, and was based on the *Lex Titia*. The later period was open usurpation. Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 718.]

2. Cf. the remarks put into Octavian's mouth by Dio (liii. 8) in the course of his speech to the Senate: Μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ ὑποπτεύσῃ [τις] ὅτι προέσθαι τε ὑμᾶς, καὶ πονηροῖς τισὶν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι ἢ καὶ ὀχλοκρατίᾳ τινὶ (ἐξ ἧς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀεὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται) ἐκδοῦναι βούλομαι. ὑμῖν γάρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις, πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἐποίησα, οὐδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἦ καὶ μοναρχῆσαί με ἔδει. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ.

Senate to legitimize his own position, it was first necessary to expunge the revolutionary and disreputable elements which had made their way even into that venerable assembly. He could not consent to receive his own authority from a Senate of 1000 nobodies. Julius Cæsar had admitted Gauls, soldiers, and the sons of freedmen into the Senate; the Triumvirs had gone a step further and had even admitted freedmen. The confusion had gone so far, and the senatorial dignity had become so cheap, that under the Triumvirate special orders had to be issued against the wearing of the *latus clavus*, the distinguishing broad stripe on the Senator's toga, by persons who had no sort of right to it. It took at least three successive revisions (in B.C. 28, B.C. 18, and A.D. 14[1]) before Octavian completely remedied this state of things, and reduced the Senate, not indeed as he at one time desired, to its primitive number of 300, but to the 600 which had been its complement since Sulla. He accomplished this great reform not as censor, an office which he never held, nor in virtue of special censorial powers in the shape of a "cura legum morumque," which was indeed offered to him, but which he declined, but as consul, investing that office with the ancient powers which it possessed before the censorship had been created, and which the censorship had taken from it. His first revision only relieved the overgrown Senate of some 200 of its members, but that did much to restore its respectability and to make it possible as an instrument of government.

1. "Senatum ter legi" says Augustus himself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. He took the census three times in the years mentioned, and as, strictly speaking, a revision of the Senate was part of the census, he no doubt had in mind the revisions accomplished in those years. But informal revisions certainly took place in other years. There was, for instance, a very important one in B.C. 18. Dio, liv., 13. Suet. Aug., 35.
[Mommsen in his Commentary on the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, pp. 35-6, considers the three *lectiones* to have taken place in 28 B.C., 18 B.C., and 4 A.D. respectively (Dio, lii. 42, liv. 13; lv. 13). The *lectio* of 11 B.C. (Dio, liv. 35) he considers apocryphal.]

Property to the value of £10,000 was made a necessary qualification for a seat in that plutocratic assembly, and to the Roman mind, which respected birth and respected military capacity, but respected property most of all, that alone was enough to give it dignity. By the end of B.C. 28 the Senate was ready for the part it had to play.

At that time all the elements of power were united in Octavian's hands. The soldiers were attached to him by money gifts and promises of land, the Roman populace by cheap corn and shows for nothing, Italy generally by its exemption from compulsory military service, and the whole Roman world by the restoration of the peace and order for which it passionately longed. But Octavian was not content with the reality of power. He wanted the constitutional form as well, and was willing to sacrifice something to get it. History says that Octavian established the Empire in B.C. 28–27, and in substance history is right; but that was not Octavian's own account of the matter. "In my sixth and seventh consulship," wrote Octavian towards the close of his long life, "I transferred the Republic from my authority to the control of the Roman Senate and people."[1] On a coin of B.C. 28 he is called "libertatis populi Romani vindex." On an epitaph in honour of the wife of Quintus Lucretius the events of this same year are summed up in the phrase: "pacato orbe terrarum, restituta republica." Velleius Paterculus, the ultra-imperialist historian who wrote under Tiberius, gives the official view—the view which Octavian wanted to be held—of the same transactions when he says that "the laws had their force restored to them, the law-courts their authority, the Senate its dignity; the powers of the magis-

1. Under the Republic the official order seems to have been "populus senatusque Romanus." In placing the Senate first and so emphasizing the subordination of the Comitia, Augustus was of course perfectly consistent. See *Hermes*, iii. 265.

trates were reduced to their natural limits; . . . that early and ancient form of the Republic was called to life again." The same transaction is thus described in two very different, and at first sight contradictory ways. Octavian himself says that he restored the Republic, while the historian—and not merely the modern historian, but Strabo, Tacitus, and Dio—says that he founded the Empire. It is an insufficient explanation to say that the official view, as stated by Octavian himself, was a gigantic fraud and falsehood, for what has to be explained is how such a view came to be for a moment plausible or tenable. An examination of the state of things which Octavian abolished in B.C. 28–27 will make such explanation possible.

For twenty years at least the Republic had had no real existence; that is to say, the State had been governed neither by the Senate nor by the Comitia, but by successful generals. In particular, the Triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus and Octavian had been a sheer usurpation based on force. The Triumvirate had made itself excessively odious, and it was Octavian's game to clear himself as far as possible of any responsibility for its proceedings, and to throw all the odium upon his former colleagues. Accordingly he declared invalid all its acts—"quae triumviratu jusserat abolevit," says Tacitus[1]—and undid all its illegalities and iniquities.[2] Foremost among the violations of law and right which Octavian thus repudiated and condemned was the appointment of magistrates, often for years in advance, at the Triumvirs' mere will and pleasure.[3]

1. Ann., iii. 28.

2. Dio., liii. 2. Ἐπειδή τε πολλὰ πάνυ κατά τε τὰς στάσεις κἀν τοῖς πολέμοις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχίᾳ καὶ ἀνόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἐτετάχει, πάντα αὐτὰ δι' ἑνὸς προγράμματος κατέλυσεν.

3. The restoration of the elective power of the Comitia was an essential part of the "restitutio reipublicae." Cf. Dio liii. 21 (B.C. 27). ὅ τε δῆμος ἐς τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὖ συνελέγετο.

In B.C. 28 Octavian conceived himself as resigning this and other unconstitutional powers, and did in fact actually resign them. It is true that hardly less excessive powers were soon conferred upon him, and it is easy to exaggerate the difference in substance between the Triumvirate and the Principate; but it is quite impossible to exaggerate the difference in form. It is not true that Octavian really restored the Republic, but it is equally untrue that he proclaimed the Empire. What he did was to get rid of the Triumvirate and all its works—a transaction which was plausibly described as the restoration of the Republic,—and then to obtain under constitutional forms and by gradual stages powers hardly less extensive than those which he had enjoyed as the successful leader of a military revolution. But it was not his intention to make himself omnipotent. It is true he held greater powers at his death than he had held forty years before, but that was owing far less to a steadily pursued design of sinister and hypocritical encroachment, which has been ascribed to him, but on insufficient evidence, than to the proved incompetence and unwillingness of the Senate to bear its due share in the partnership of power.

On January 13, B.C. 27,[1] Octavian formally resigned the arbitrary powers of the Triumvirate and "restored the Republic." That is to say, he declared before the assembled Senate that he gave back the provinces and armies to the Senate and Roman people.[2] The Senate replied by pretending to take the restitution seriously, and by award-

1. The date is given by Ovid. Fasti., i. 587 foll.

Idibus in magni castus Jovis aede sacerdos
Semimaris flammis viscera libat ovis;
Redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro,
Et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus.

2. ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῖν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη is the phrase put into his mouth by Dio, liii. 9. The line of Ovid quoted above—redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro—is to be taken literally.

ing him, on the motion of Munatius Plancus, the semi-sacred name of Augustus in return.[1] But it nevertheless begged him to resume them both, and Augustus finally yielded so far as to take half the provinces, leaving the rest to be administered by the Senate.[2] The avowed principle of division was that the Senate should have the older and settled, and therefore of course richer provinces, where there was little or no need of military force, while Augustus should take upon himself the burden and heat of the day in defending and administering the more recent and more backward provinces, and those whose frontiers were the frontiers of the Empire. This plausible arrangement appeared to give the Senate the lion's share; in reality it put the entire military power in the hands of Augustus. The defence of the Rhine, of the Euphrates, and, later, of the Danube, was the Emperor's exclusive business. The original division of B.C. 27 gave ten provinces to the Senate—Africa and Numidia, Asia, Achaia and Epirus, Illyricum (which at this period meant Dalmatia), Macedonia, Sicily, Crete and Cyrenaica, Bithynia and Pontus, Sardinia (with Corsica) and Baetica. Illyricum appears to have been included on the supposition that it had been pacified, but before many years had passed the unruly disposition of its inhabitants and the dangerous neighbourhood of Pannonia showed this supposition to be unsound, and then the province, as needing a military

1. *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 34: Quo pro merito meo Senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum.—Suet. Aug., 7. Dio, liii. 16. Αὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὤν, ἐπεκλήθη.—Ovid. Fasti., i. 608:—

Hic socium summo cum Jove nomen habet.
Sancta vocant *augusta* patres: *augusta* vocantur
Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.

After this year Octavian was regularly styled Augustus, and will be so styled henceforth in this History.

2. I describe the transaction as I conceive it to be described by Dio (liii. 11-12), who is however lamentably vague and summary.

garrison, was transferred to the Emperor.[1] Illyricum, therefore, was only an apparent, not a real exception to the principle that the Senate had only the settled and peaceful provinces for its share. Africa was much more of a real exception, as its frontiers were frontiers of the Empire and needed the protection of troops, which were under the command of the senatorial governor of the province; but this exception was deprived of its importance by the solicitude of the Senate, whenever the province was seriously disturbed, to divest itself of power and responsibility and to induce the Emperor to name the governor of his choice, and was finally got rid of by Caligula.[2] Tacitus therefore correctly describes the substantial fact when he speaks of the Senatorial portion of the Empire as the "unarmed provinces."[3] They counted for nothing in such a period of civil war as the terrible year of the Three Emperors (A.D. 69), and were the prize of victory.[4]

The original twelve provinces which Octavian accepted in B.C. 27 were Tarraconensis, Lusitania, Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Aquitania, Belgica, Germania Superior, Germania Inferior,[5] Syria, Cilicia, Cyprus and Egypt. The appearance of Narbonensis and Cyprus in the list is a little surprising. The former, which had been a province for not far short of a hundred years, was almost another Italy beyond the Alps, and Cyprus seemed marked out by

1. Dio, liv. 34. *κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἡ Δελματία τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φρουρᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν ἀεὶ καὶ δι ἑαυτῆς καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν Παννωνίων γειτονίαν δεομένη, παρεδόθη.* This was in B.C. 11.

[2. Caligula deprived the Senatorial Governor of the command of the legion which he had hitherto held, and placed at the head of the forces of the province an imperial nominee, who had also control of the frontier and its protection against the marauders of the desert. (Dio Cass., lix, 20).]

3. Hist. i. 11.

4. "In pretium belli cessurae." *Ibid.*

[5. The Germanies could not have been provinces at so early a date when their conquest had not been seriously undertaken. The exact date of their institution is uncertain, probably about 20 years later after the campaigns of Drusus. (Marquardt *Staatsverwaltung*, i. pp, 272-3).]

its geographical position and the character of its population to be an "unarmed," in other words a Senatorial province. The arrangement, in fact, only lasted for five years. In B.C. 22 both Cyprus and Narbonensis were transferred from Emperor to Senate.[1] But that Augustus should keep Narbonensis under his own control for the first five years of his Principate was eminently natural. Good part of those years was taken up with the organisation of Gaul, including Narbonensis; and by placing the whole country between the Rhine and the Mediterranean, for the time being, in one hand and treating it as a whole the task was obviously rendered easier. As for Cyprus, its connection with Egypt had for generations been so close, and had so recently been strengthened by Antony and Cleopatra, that there is nothing to surprise us in the decision of the new master of Egypt to hold the island in his own hands for the first few years of Empire.

When Narbonensis and Cyprus are thus eliminated (and in Strabo's list of Imperial provinces, it is to be remembered, they do not even appear), the Imperial provinces, on the other hand, were either frontier provinces, or they were inhabited by a population still very imperfectly subdued. New conquests acquired after B.C. 27 went in all cases to the Emperor, and such provinces could not but be of the same character. The Imperial provinces therefore required the constant presence of troops; for instance along the Rhine frontier, which was in the Emperor's hands for its whole length, were stationed not less than 80,000 men.[2] In other words the Emperor's

1. Dio liv. 4. τότε δ' οὖν καὶ τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν Ναρβωνησίαν ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ ὡς μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας· καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνας τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο.

[2. More probably 60,000. Cf. Mommsen *Provinces*, i. pp. 118-9 (Eng. Tran.).]

provinces carried with them the commandership-in-chief and the exclusive military power.

That the provinces should supply the basis of the Imperial power was quite in accord with the reality of things. The Emperor was, in fact, the historical result of the conquest of the provinces, and of the great military commands which had thus been rendered necessary. In comparison with the Republic, the Empire was from the first provincial and cosmopolitan, even though it took at least two more centuries before the struggle against the old exclusive Romanism was ended by the extension of the franchise to every free-born provincial, by the reduction of the Roman magistracy to its original municipal character, of the Senate to a town council, and of Italy to a province. Strictly speaking, the new Imperium which was voted to Augustus by the Senate did not extend to Italy; it was proconsular (*proconsulare imperium*), in other words provincial.[1] It was an essential part of the system which Augustus founded that no legion should set foot in Italy, and nothing marks so clearly the later system of undisguised military despotism as the permanent quartering of a legion by Septimius Severus (A.D. 193—211) in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. This proconsular imperium was the kernel of the new Imperial authority, and to have it was in fact to be Emperor. Other component parts of the Imperial authority—even so important a part as the Tribunician power—might be added later; they might even never be held at all; but the proconsular

1. With the object of depriving the Comitia of the power of giving provincial commands directly, Sulla had enacted a law that such commands should be held, not by consuls and praetors during their year of office, but by proconsuls and propraetors.

[For the controversy on the nature of the imperium of Augustus, whether it was proconsular or consular, or whether it was essentially unqualified, see Mommsen *Staatsrecht*, ii. 840 ff; Herzog, *Röm. Staatsverfasung*, ii. 137 ff., 616 ff., Gardthausen *Augustus*, ii. 2. 288—296; Pelham (*Journal of Philology*, vol. xvii.)].

imperium and the Emperor were inseparable. Once a man had been hailed as Emperor (*appellatus Imperator*) by the soldiers or by the Senate, he was voted the proconsular imperium as a matter of course at once. The act of the soldiers had of course to be endorsed by the Senate if it was to be anything but the unconstitutional exercise of naked force, but, once the matter had come before that body, any appreciable interval between the bestowal of the title and the voting of the Imperium was so irregular and exceptional as to be considered ominous.[1] To call a man imperator and to give him the imperium were by no means one and the same thing. Augustus had been imperator ever since B.C. 40, using the title as part of his own proper name in place of his prænomen "Gaius," whereas he did not get the proconsular imperium till B.C. 27; but the latter was the necessary, and, in the case of succeeding Emperors, almost always the immediate consequence of the former. For the Senate to give a man the proconsular imperium was formally to hand over to him the entire army and the provinces which it garrisoned, together of course with the revenues of those provinces—in other words to put the State at his disposal. The momentous and irrevocable nature of the step was at first somewhat disguised. Augustus accepted his provinces for a period of ten years only;[2] but when the ten years had elapsed,

1. Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ *vita Pertinacis*, 5, primus sane omnium ea die qua Augustus est appellatus, etiam patris patriae nomen recepit; *nec simul etiam imperium proconsulare* nec jus quartae relationis; *quod ominis loco fuit Pertinaci*. Cf. *Vita Juliani*, 3. Facto senatus consulto imperator est appellatus et tribuniciam potestatem, jus proconsulare . . . . . emeruit. *Vita Probi*, 12. (Speech of Manlius Statianus) Decerno igitur, patres conscripti, votis omnium concinentibus, nomen imperatorium, nomen Caesareanum, nomen Augustum; addo proconsulare imperium. [The reading from the Life of Pertinax is however uncertain. In some MSS, *non* is inserted after each *nec*, thereby, of course, reversing the sense.]

2. Dio liii. 13. *βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς ὁ Καῖσαρ πόῤῥω σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μοναρχικὸν φρονεῖν δοκεῖν, ἐς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη· τοσούτῳ τε γὰρ χρόνῳ καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο· καὶ προσενεανιεύσατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι, ὅ τι ἂν καὶ θᾶττον ἡμερωθῇ, θᾶττον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀποδώσει.*

another five-year period was voted, and then another five years, and then two consecutive ten-year periods, "so that," as Dio says, "by the succession of ten-year periods he was monarch all his life."[1] But under his successors, even under his immediate successor Tiberius, this particular bit of make-believe was done away with. The proconsular imperium was voted invariably for life, and the only relic of the original system was the festival of the Decennalia celebrated by the reigning Emperor.

From what has been said it would appear that two very important portions of the Roman world — the senatorial provinces in the first place, and Rome and Italy in the second — were exempt from the Imperial authority, and, if that exemption had been real, the arrangement which Augustus set on foot might without exaggeration be called a dyarchy, or division of authority between the Senate and himself. But the exemption was not real. To begin with, the Emperor largely controlled the composition of the Senate. In order to be a really independent body the Senate should have been recruited by means which it was impossible for the Emperor to affect, whereas even under Augustus and still more under and after Domitian, it was composed mainly of his creatures.[2] Nor was senatorial rank in itself sufficient qualification for a provincial governorship. For that, consular or at least prætorian rank was necessary, and, while a large proportion of the consulars and prætorians actually owed their position to the direct recommendation of the Emperor, it is safe to say that no one attained that rank who was not at least tacitly accepted by him. The control was not absolute, for, at all events in the first century, the two consular

1. liii. 16. ὥστε τῇ τῶν δεκετηρίδων διαδοχῇ διὰ βίου αὐτὸν μοναρχῆσαι.
2. *Infra* pp. 41, ff.

provinces had to be assigned by lot between the six or ten oldest consulars;[1] but by the third century even this limitation on the Emperor's arbitrary pleasure was done away, and the Emperor each year nominated as many consulars and prætorians as there were provinces to fill. The lot then no longer decided whether or no a man should have a province, but merely what province he should have. It was of course possible that even a man who owed his place in the Senate, his consulship, and his province solely to the Emperor, might yet be so mastered by the *esprit de corps* inseparable from so famous and ancient an assembly as to feel himself a senator first and a subject next, and to be desirous of ruling his province exclusively with reference to and in the interests of the Senate. Such a temper undoubtedly did exist, but it had been fully foreseen and not less fully provided for. Again, the proconsular power of the Emperor applied to all the provinces without distinction, and gave him the necessary foothold for interference in a senatorial province if necessary. 'It was a natural corollary of this "imperium majus" that the governors even of senatorial provinces received their instructions from the Emperor before leaving Italy. Moreover, once arrived in his province, the senatorial governor found that, even if he had the will to ignore his instructions, and to usurp larger powers than properly belonged to him, he had not the means. He had no military force whatever, and if any disturbance in his province rendered troops necessary, his only course was to beg a temporary loan of a detachment from the governor of the nearest imperial province. It was high treason for him to levy soldiers himself. That was the exclusive prerogative of

[1. These numbers are merely given as conjectures by Mommsen. St. R. ii. 253. It is only assumed that there was a fixed number of names for the ballot.]

the Emperor in every portion of the Empire, and the Emperor alone, to whom every soldier had taken the military oath, could promote a man, decorate him, or give him his discharge. The Emperor was many things, but before and above all he was commander-in-chief of the Roman army.

Another prerogative of the Emperor was that of taking the census. This was done by imperial officials even in senatorial provinces.[1] In other words the repartition of the taxes—the administrative act which concerned most nearly every inhabitant of the province—was carried out without the slightest reference to its nominal ruler. The governor—or rather his quæstor, who however, was strictly his subordinate—had to get in most of the taxes, it is true, and to forward the money to the senatorial treasury at Rome. But even that minor function had its limits. There were certain special taxes, including the revenues of the domain-lands in each province, managed entirely by imperial procurators, and over these officials the governor had no authority, whereas they were so many spies upon all he did.

Lastly, the brief duration of the senatorial governorships—strictly limited as they were to a single year—gave an ambitious man no chance. The Emperor kept the legates who governed the imperial provinces at their posts for years together, but the old rule of annual change was jealously maintained, with rare exceptions, for the senatorial provinces, and almost before the governor of one of those provinces was well seated in the saddle he was recalled to Rome.

1. It must, however, he admitted that the existence of such officials in the first century of the Empire cannot be demonstrated by the positive evidence available for the second century. This may be due merely to the imperfection of the epigraphic record, and an inscription may any day be found which will give the proof required.

In the same way, the exemption of Rome and Italy from the Imperial authority was more apparent than real. It is true that in theory the proconsular imperium was essentially provincial. Strictly speaking it did not apply to Italy and Rome, and so long as the strong distinction between the provinces and Italy was maintained, the title of proconsul was assumed by the Emperor only when he was out of Italy.[1] That transformation was indicated still more evidently when Severus quartered a legion—for the first time in the history of the Empire—in the neighbourhood of Rome.[2] Hitherto the legions had been religiously kept out of Italy—a logical consequence of the original conception of the imperium as proconsular or provincial, which had considerable importance, and would have been all-important if the exclusion of the legions had really meant that the Emperor was totally destitute of military force in Italy and Rome. But of course it meant nothing of the kind. The exclusion of the legions was made good in more ways than one, and, what with the Fleet, the Vigiles, and above all the Prætorian guard, the basis of physical force indispensable to the Emperor's position was abundantly supplied. There had been no standing fleet under the Republic, but Augustus had had good reason to know its paramount necessity, and besides quartering Antony's captured vessels at Forum Julii (Fréjus in Provence) he established two great naval stations at Misenum and Ravenna. The Vigiles (not completely organized till A.D. 6) were a police force and fire brigade, with a military organization and quartered in

[1. Even out of Italy it was assumed first by Trajan (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 778 *n.* 1).]

2. From one point of view it may be said that the essence of Augustus' resignation of his Triumviral power was that he gave up having troops in Italy.

barracks throughout Rome.[1] Finally the Prætorian Guard, a picked force of 9,000 men, was absolutely identified with the Empire, and though it often plotted against the reigning Emperor, could not even be conceived of as plotting to restore the Republic. The Prætorian Guard existed, though of course in far inferior numbers, under the Republic; that is to say, each general in the field had a *prætoria cohors* at his disposition; but the essential difference was that under the Republic the imperium lapsed directly a general entered Rome, and where there was no imperium there could be no Guard. With the Empire the Guard entered Rome, because the Emperor still retained the imperium, with the power of life and death which it implied, within the City. This immense concession was necessary for the very existence of the Empire; but it marked off the new departure far more clearly than Augustus liked, and he did his best to disguise it by never allowing more than three cohorts of the Guard to be in Rome at once, and by refusing even those a permanent camp. Tiberius put an end to that particular sham by bringing all nine Prætorian cohorts into Rome, and stationing them in great permanent barracks at the north-eastern corner of the city.[2] But that it was a sham is proved, if proof were wanted, by the fact that the first act of Augustus, after "restoring the Republic" in B.C. 27, was to double the pay of his prætorians. The coincidence, which was by no means accidental, is extremely typical both of Augustus himself and of his system.

[1. There were also in the city the three *Cohortes Urbanae* established by Augustus *in custodiam urbis* (Suet. Aug., 49).]

2. But even Tiberius did not venture to bring the barracks within the *pomœrium*. They were just outside the city wall. Nor was the prætorian cohort which kept guard in the Emperor's palace allowed to wear military uniform. The men wore the toga—the civic garb of peace. The presence of troops in Rome so profoundly offended Roman sentiment and tradition that the early Emperors disguised and cloaked it wherever possible.

The proconsular imperium which has been thus described was the kernel of the imperial authority, and the man who had it was Emperor; but it did not by any means stand alone. It was too essentially military in its nature, and it did not link on closely enough to the old Republican magistracies to give Augustus the undoubted constitutional foothold which he wanted in Rome and Italy. It was not enough for Augustus to be commander-in-chief; he wanted to be chief magistrate as well. At first he appears to have entertained the idea of using the consulship for the purpose, and he was actually consul for every year from B.C. 31 to B.C. 23.[1] But in the latter year notwithstanding the appeals and protestations of the people, he renounced the consulship and did not hold it again for nearly twenty years. The very essence of the consulship was that it should be held only for a year, and that there should be two consuls at once. It is true that Augustus held it for eight years running, but the proceeding had an unconstitutional air about it which he did not like, and even he did not venture to hold it without a colleague. The consulship was inextricably intertwined with Republican ideas, and, in its limited duration and its fundamental dualism,[2] was the most evident symbol of the attenuation of the magisterial authority, as compared with the single life-King on the one hand, and the single life-Emperor on the other. The reconstitution of the magisterial authority in its integrity, which at bottom is the definition of the Empire, could hardly be carried out by means of an institution which had always represented the precisely opposite idea. Augustus' example was followed, and the consulship re-

1. "Posito triumviri nomine consulem se ferens."—Tac. Ann., i. 2.

2. A single consul was a contradiction in terms. The word carries the idea of "colleague" on its face.

After B.C. 1 it became the rule for a man's consulship to last for six months only, and the change was no doubt introduced with the idea of weakening the office.—See Aschbach in *Historisches Taschenbuch*, vii. 114, 117, 128.

mained outside the Imperial system. The reigning Emperor occupied the office from time to time, and did not disdain, though sometimes he showed himself jealous of, the prestige of the great Republican magistracy; but its real power and influence were gone, and the Emperor was no stronger in the years during which he held it than in the years during which he left it to the mild competition of the older senators.

Augustus found what he wanted in the tribunician power which he had held ever since B.C. 36, which was confirmed and perhaps extended[1] in the year after Actium, B.C. 30, and which was re-conferred upon him in B.C. 23.[2] He was not tribune, and as a patrician—which every Emperor necessarily was for two centuries to come—could not be; but if he had been tribune he must have had colleagues, and that was hardly consonant with the imperial dignity.[3] This device of the tribunician power just suited him, for while it linked on to the old Republican system not less closely and evidently than did the consulship, there was also the difference which he required. There were no qualifications in the shape of previous magistracies wanted, and no colleagues possible, except such as the Emperor, acting through the Senate, might himself appoint. The tribunate was historically a sort of extra magistracy with no defined functions, but this very vagueness was an advantage, and there was no doubt that, what-

1. Mommsen's suggestion is that, from having been applicable to Rome only, it was extended to the whole of the Empire—Tiberius made use of it at Rhodes—in B.C. 30.

[2. Mommsen (Staatsrecht, ii. 873) points out that Dio (liii. 32) is the only ancient authority for this reconferment of the tribunician power, and that he may have misunderstood the practice then introduced of indicating the years of the tribunician power in official statements.]

3. Moreover in that case the Emperor could himself have been vetoed, and would thus have failed to acquire the omnipotence inevitably attaching to the man who could veto everything but whom nobody could veto.

ever its own positive powers might be, it possessed an unlimited veto-power—not unfrequently used by the Emperors against resolutions of the Senate—and an equally unlimited power of interfering to protect any one who was ill-used, or alleged himself to be ill-used, by other magistrates. Its inviolability was a great point, and was the basis of the extension of the law of high treason to written and spoken offences against the reigning Emperor.[1] Above all, the tribunate was the old palladium of the democracy, from which the Empire sprang, and to identify it with the Empire was the way to impress the populace with the conviction that the Senate had been finally defeated, and that their cause was finally victorious.

The possession of the tribunician power thus became the clearest and most expressive mark of sovereignty, and the one which Augustus himself and his successors were the most inclined to favour. The title carried no invidious associations with it, and was yet unique and paramount.[2] Augustus accordingly made it not only the highest title of the reigning Emperor, but the symbol of the succession. He himself tacitly named his successor, and Tiberius followed his example, by obtaining from the Senate the tribunician power for the person of his choice. After

1. Dio. liii. 17. Ἥ τε ἐξουσία ἡ δημαρχικὴ καλουμένη . . . . δίδωσί σφισι τά τε γιγνόμενα ὑφ' ἑτέρου τινός, ἂν μὴ συνεπαινῶσι, παύειν, καὶ μὴ καθυβρίζεσθαι· κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον μὴ ὅτι ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ, ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξωσι, καὶ ἄκριτον τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἐναγῆ ἀπολλύναι. For *laesa majestas* in this sense under the Triumvirate see Dio, xlix. 15. There are even signs of it under the Republic. Plutarch Tib. Gracch., 10.

2. Tac. Ann., iii. 56. Tiberius . . . . mittit literas ad senatum, quis potestatem tribuniciam Druso petebat. Id summi fastigii vocabulum Augustus repperit, ne regis aut dictatoris nomen adsumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cetera imperia praemineret. M. deinde Agrippam socium ejus potestatis, quo defuncto, Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne successor in incerto foret: sic cohiberi pravas aliorum spes rebatur: simul modestiae Neronis, et suae magnitudini fidebat. Quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Drusum summae rei admovit. Note especially the last three words.

Augustus' alarming illness in B.C. 23, he comprehended the necessity of putting a constraint upon his inclinations and settling the succession on a firmer basis; but Marcellus' premature death threw everything out for the time, and he procrastinated in the matter till B.C. 18, when his new son-in-law Agrippa, returned from his successful campaign in Spain, and endeared to Augustus by further proofs of his resolute determination to subordinate himself to the master he had served so faithfully for twenty years, obtained the tribunician power for a first five-year period. Another five-year period followed in B.C. 13, but next year Agrippa died, and for some years Augustus had no colleague in the tribunician power. During those years his hope was that one of his youthful grandchildren, Gaius or Lucius, would succeed him, but in B.C. 6, their arrogance exasperated him into giving the tribunician power to Tiberius. This made a breach between Tiberius and the two young men, and the former accordingly knowing that the Emperor's heart was with his grandchildren, and embittered both by that consciousness and by his wife's intolerable misconduct, took himself off to Rhodes to watch events. When the five years for which he had received the tribunician power lapsed, it was not for some time renewed. It was only after he had returned to Rome, and after Gaius and Lucius had both been swept out of the way by death, that Augustus once more gave him the tribunician power (in A.D. 4) for a ten-year period, adopted him, and prevailed on him to adopt Germanicus. When the old Emperor saw the succession thus doubly assured, the historian tells us that he "took courage."[1]

1. Dio lv. 13. *κἀκ τούτων ἐπιθαρσήσας, ὡς καὶ διαδόχους καὶ βοηθοὺς ἔχων.* See *Mon. Anc.*, iii. 21 (Greek). *καὶ ταύτης αὖτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς συνάρχοντα ἀυτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου πεντάκις αἰτήσας ἔλαβον.* The *fifth* time (*πεντάκις*) was in A.D. 13, when the tribunician power was renewed to Tiberius for another ten-year period. Dio, lvi. 28.

In this picture of the Emperor's constitutional position certain general powers, which it is not always easy to refer to a precise origin, must find their place side by side with the proconsular imperium and the tribunician power. To begin with, the decision as to war or peace lay exclusively with him, and he alone had the right to make treaties with independent or nominally independent states.[1] Dio appears to deduce these powers from the Emperor's proconsular imperium, and they were no doubt implicitly contained in it; but it is possible that all or some of them may have been explicitly conferred upon Augustus by special law, and enough is left of the Julian law of high treason to show that it applied to any one who undertook warlike operations without express orders from the Emperor.[2] In the next place the Emperor had a certain influence, direct and indirect, on legislation. In virtue, no doubt, of his tribunician power, he shared with other chief magistrates the right of bringing a law before the Assembly, which according to the Augustan constitution remained the legislature, and the power of initiative, for strictly speaking it was no more,[3] was actually exercised by Augustus in the case of his marriage laws. The Emperor

1. Strabo, p. 840. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ πατρὶς ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης κατέστη κύριος διὰ βίου. κ.τ.λ. Dio, liii. 17. καὶ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων (*i.e.* of proconsul and imperator) καταλόγους τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρήματα ἀθροίζειν, πολέμους τε ἀναιρεῖσθαι καὶ εἰρήνην σπένδεσθαι . . . . . λαμβάνουσιν. Lex de Imperio Vespasiani (Bruns, p. 192) . . . . foedusve cum quibus volet facere liceat ita uti licuit divo Augusto, etc. This last meant that the status of all the *civitates foederatae*, whose independence was merely nominal, was given by the Emperor.

2. Digest xlviii. 4, 3. Eadem lege (*i.e.*, lege Julia majestatis) tenetur et qui injussu principis bellum gesserit dilectumve habuerit exercitum comparaverit.

3. The recognition of the sovereignty of the Assembly implied in the exercise of this power was too evident for the Emperors, who used it, therefore, very sparingly, and after Tiberius, with the exception of isolated laws brought in by Claudius and Nerva, there were no more imperial *leges* in the old and full sense.

also obtained the monopoly of law-making in those special cases in which even under the Republic it had become the custom to delegate to magistrates the legislative powers of the Assembly. The Emperor alone founded colonies, changed the status of a town—for instance from Latin to Roman, or from municipium to colony, —gave a new community its statutes, and bestowed the franchise upon individuals. According to the strict Republican theory a law passed by the Assembly was necessary for each and all of these things; but it had become the custom under the later Republic to delegate full powers to the men who alone had the personal and local knowledge that was requisite, in other words to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies, and the only change effected by the Empire was to make those delegated powers the monopoly of the reigning Emperor.

To interpret law is almost the same thing as to make it, and no despotic power is really despotic which does not effectually control its administration. Under the Augustan system the Emperor administered the law, and the first step was taken towards making its interpretation an exclusive imperial privilege when Augustus confined the right of giving solutions of points of law to jurists of his choice.[1] Caligula threatened to make this right a personal imperial monopoly,[2] and in the second period of the Empire from Hadrian onwards, it did actually become so. The inevitable drift of events was to do away with the qualifications and

1. Digest i. 2, 49. Ante tempora Augusti publice respondendi jus non a principibus dabatur, sed qui fiduciam studiorum suorum habebant, consulentibus respondebant; neque responsa utique signata dabant, sed plerumque judicibus ipsi scribebant aut testabantur qui nos consulebant. Primus divus Augustus, ut major juris auctoritas haberetur, constituit ut ex auctoritate ejus responderent; et ex illo tempore peti hoc pro beneficio coepit. Cf. Roby's *Introduction to Justinian's Digest*, p. 102.

2. Suet. Calig. 34. De juris quoque consultis quasi scientiae eorum omnem usum aboliturus, saepe jactavit se mehercle effecturum ne qui respondere possint praeter eum.

restrictions of Augustus, and to make the Emperor exclusively supreme in this, as in other spheres of public activity;[1] but this tendency was doubtless helped by the lawyers, who felt—and who in all times and countries feel and must feel—the same logical need of one infallible interpreter which has led the Roman church to declare the infallibility of the Pope.[2]

This monopolizing of the legal interpretation was, however, the work of centuries, and under Augustus only the mere beginnings of it are visible. It was otherwise with the administration of the law, in which even Augustus took a considerable part, both personally and by deputy. The system of large juries for the trial both of criminal and the more important civil cases was, it is true, retained under the Empire, Augustus adding a fourth *decuria*, or class of jurymen, to the three already existing; but the revision of the jury-list, which hitherto had been done by the urban prætor, became the Emperor's prerogative, and it was the practice of the early Emperors to attend criminal trials frequently in person. If on such occasions the accused was condemned by a majority of one only, it was open to the Emperor to add his vote to the minority, and so to secure acquittal. Still the Emperor's direct influence on these courts was small, and he had no means of annulling their decisions. It was very characteristic of Augustus' conservative and tentative methods that he left

1. Gaius i. 5. Constitutio principis est quod imperator decrete vel edicto vel epistula constituit: nec umquam dubitatum est quin id legis vicem obtineat. Digest i. 4, 1. Quodcunque igitur imperator per epistulam et subscriptionem statuit vel cognoscens decrevit vel de plano interlocutus est vel edicto praecepit, legem esse constat: haec sunt quas vulgo constitutiones appellamus.

2. This infallibilist turn of mind is very clearly shown in the passage in Justinian's *Novellae*, cv. 4, in which the Imperial authority is defined as "law made man"—*νόμον αὐτὴν ἔμψυχον καταπέμψας (ὁ θεός) ἀνθρώποις*. Cf. Seneca, de Clementia i. 5. Tu animus reipublicae tuae es, illa corpus tuum.

them so much scope and power, and the disappearance of the juries later on was one of the signs that absolute monarchy had come. But the whole tendency of the Imperial system from the first was against these too independent courts, and though Augustus was careful not to attack them directly, he set the example of that withdrawal of cases from their jurisdiction which gradually left the juries nothing to do, and so reduced them first to atrophy and ultimately to extinction.

For criminal cases there was a brand-new Imperial court, which was competent even in cases where the accused were Senators, and which appears to have been derived directly from that proconsular imperium which, as has been shown,[1] remained in force within the walls of Rome itself. Ancient Rome, which knew little or nothing of the modern system of division of powers, had as a matter of course given its provincial governors the highest judicial as well as the highest military functions while they were in their respective provinces, and the new commander-in-chief, who governed a dozen provinces at once, and who had the "imperium majus" even in the provinces which were nominally allotted to the Senate, benefited in respect of his judicial powers by an old and deeply rooted habit of mind. Military and administrative powers so great called for a corresponding extension of the judicial power, and though a formidable change was made when the criminal jurisdiction of the Emperor was extended to Rome itself, still the innovation did not loom so large to a Roman eye as we moderns, who jealously distinguish the judge from the official, and still more from the soldier, might be disposed to think. The permanent residence of the commander-in-chief could be no place but

1. *Supra.* p. 29.

Rome, and the governor of a dozen provinces, unable to be in a dozen different places at once, could only govern them by deputy from the capital and centre of the Empire. That being so, he could not be denied the criminal jurisdiction attaching to all provincial governors merely because he lived in Rome without so far placing him in a position of absolute inferiority to the meanest governor of some insignificant senatorial province. The vital point in the Republican system was the localization of provincial command. Directly it had become possible for a man to govern his province, as Pompey governed Spain, from Rome, the Empire had in fact appeared. The real change lay there, and not in the mere retention of criminal jurisdiction within the walls of Rome. This latter was in fact inseparable from the proconsular imperium, directly the old system of localization ceased, and from the first formed part of it.

Any and every criminal case could be brought before the Emperor's court, and the Emperor had only to claim a case to have it at once transferred to him.[1] But the right was of course used sparingly, and chiefly in cases where men of a high social position were concerned. There was no jury in this court, no publicity, and no effectual control by public opinion. Nevertheless, whether because the Emperor could afford to do justice in cases where the ordinary courts were afraid to do it, or from the natural tendency of the men who lived under the imperial system —a tendency not fully foreseen by Augustus, and disliked both by him and by Tiberius—to concentrate all powers on the person of the Emperor, there was a great pressure on his court, and a wide-reaching system of delegation came

1. Seneca de Clem. i. 15. Cogniturus de filio Tarius advocavit in consilium Caesarem Augustum. Venit in privatos penates, adsedit, pars alieni consilii fuit. Non dixit: "immo in meam domum veniat." Quod si factum esset, Caesaris futura erat cognitio, non patris.

in early. Ultimately the criminal jurisdiction of the Emperors covered the Roman world by the threefold delegation of cases occurring in Rome and within the "Home circuit"[1] to the Prefect of the City; in the rest of Italy, to the Prefect of the Guard; and in the provinces, to the provincial governors. The competing courts gradually fell into comparative disuse, but they were not violently displaced. The Senate in fact obtained, on the establishment of the Empire, judicial powers that had not formerly belonged to it. There was no appeal from it to the Emperors, but the Emperor could veto any of its decisions, judicial as well as other, in virtue of his tribunician power, and whenever it sat as a criminal court, it was of course open to him, as senator and "princeps Senatus" to be present.[2]

The opportunities which the Emperor had for using and managing the Senate were indeed not the least important among the sources of his real authority. First as consul, and afterwards in virtue of his tribunician power, Augustus shared with other magistrates the power of convoking the Senate and submitting a motion to it; but in B.C. 23 the new power of making such motions *in writing* without

1. *i.e.*, within the 100th milestone from Rome. See Dio lii. 22. Digest i. 12, 4.

2. The Emperor had also, of course, jurisdiction in civil actions. One of the parties to a suit would request him to try the case, and he did so if he pleased. "Jus dixit assidue," says Suetonius (Aug. 33) of Augustus, and the proceedings were public. Appeals in particular came before the Emperor in large numbers, and though much was done to relieve him by delegation, still the personal share of the Emperor in administering the law was considerable, and was bound to be so. Under the Augustan system the Emperor was no mere figure-head, or *roi fainéant*, but a high official who had to work hard. I have not, however, thought it needful to discuss the civil jurisdiction in the text, as all magistrates possessing the imperium had always exercised it in Rome—military command in the field and civil jurisdiction in Rome constituting in fact the very definition of imperium—and in this respect the Empire brought no change.

being personally present, was voted to him,[1] and in the following year an unlimited power of convoking the Senate ("as often as he pleased") was made the subject of a special resolution in his favour. These written motions were at first limited to one, but under succeeding Emperors we find them extended to as many as five.[2] This meant that if the Emperor pleased he had the whole time of the sitting at his disposal. When personally present, the Emperor presided, sitting between the two consuls on his curule chair; and as Princeps Senatus—a dignity voted to Augustus in B.C. 28 and henceforward regarded as the exclusive privilege of the reigning Emperor—he was always asked his opinion first.[3] It is needless to say that, once that opinion had been expressed, the senators who ventured to have a different one were few.[4] Even in the Emperor's absence the Senate could not but remember that their proceedings were being recorded (under the supervision of an official appointed directly by the Emperor) and would come under his eye,[5] and if they were inclined to pass a resolution of the first importance without consulting him, either a tribune was found to veto it, or the presiding consul refused to put the motion.

A further hold upon the Senate was supplied by yet another Imperial prerogative, the last which remains to be

1. I have adopted Mommsen's distinction between "referre" and "relationem facere" (Lex de imperio Vespasiani, Bruns., p. 192) and his interpretation of χρηματίζειν in the passage in Dio, liii. 32. Ἡ γερουσία . . . . χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἑνός τινος ὅτου ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύσῃ, ἔδωκε. See his *Staatsrecht*, ii. 898.

2. "Jus tertiae," "jus quartae," and "jus quintae relationis" all occur.

3. *Mon. Anc.*, iv. 2 (Greek). πρῶτον ἀξιώματος τόπον ἔσχον τῆς συγκλήτου ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἧς ταῦτα ἔγραφον, ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. Dio, liii. 1.

4. Tac. Ann. i. 74. Manebant etiam tum vestigia morientis libertatis. Igitur Cn. Piso, "Quo," inquit, "loco censebis, Caesar? si primus, habebo quod sequar, si post omnes, vereor ne imprudens dissentiam."

5. Augustus stopped the publication of the "acta senatus" (Suet. Aug. 36), but no doubt, like Tiberius, saw them himself.

discussed. The Senate was in the main a body of officials and ex-officials, many of whom had owed their official posts to the direct intervention of the Emperor. Even under the Republic it had been the practice for influential citizens to recommend the candidates of their choice to the favour of the electors, and when such a recommendation came from a Scipio or a Pompey the candidate's success was pretty well assured. The Empire stereotyped the practice, and, as in so many other cases, made it a monopoly. In the first part of his reign Augustus appeared in the forum attended by the candidates of his choice, and personally presented them to the electors. In his old age this "commendation" was no longer done by word of mouth but by public placard. Under succeeding reigns, when the elections had been transferred from the Comitia to the Senate, the Emperor was accustomed to send the Senate a list of his "commended" candidates in writing. The early Emperors limited with some care the number of such candidates. Thus out of twelve prætors only four were "commended"; out of twenty quæstors only two. But the number naturally tended to grow, and moreover, besides the candidates who were "commended" and whose election was assured,[1] there were candidates "nominated" by the Emperor, that is, entered on a list which he sent in to the presiding magistrate as qualified. On this list the Emperor would, as a rule, enter as many names as there were places to fill, and though this "nomination," unlike the "commendation," implied only a negative approval—implied that is, that the Emperor had nothing against the names in question—still his list would in nine

1. Tac. Ann. i. 15. Moderante Tiberio ne plures quam quattuor candidatos commendaret sine repulsa et ambitu designandos. [There was no *commendatio* of consuls till the reign of Nero. For the quaestors cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. p. 529].

cases out of ten be accepted bodily.[1] In a word the way to the Senate was through office, and it was hardly possible for a man to obtain office against the Emperor's will.

The question as to the origin of these different powers has been already partly answered. Some were directly deducible from the proconsular imperium, others from the tribunician power, while in the case of others again, a special law for the bestowal of the privilege is either known to have existed or is highly probable. The one thing which may be taken as certain is that they were not bestowed upon Augustus, whatever may have been the case with his successors, by any one single law, or at any one single time. Such an imperial charter, giving the Emperor his powers *en bloc*, appears to have been drawn up on the accession of Vespasian; but there were obvious reasons for a new departure in that case, and the "lex de imperio Vespasiani" may very well have been the first of its kind.[2] Even the proconsular imperium was only conferred on Augustus for ten years at a time, and his preference for tentative methods, for gradual steps and successive stages, was one of the most strongly marked features alike of his character and his system.[3]

1. Tac. Ann. i. 14. Candidatos praeturae duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum. Under the Republic the presiding magistrate at elections could reject a candidate as unqualified, and his acceptance of any particular name was necessary before that name could be put to the vote. Under the Empire candidates could either submit their names to the presiding magistrate, as under the old system, or to the Emperor; and the latter course was naturally, as a rule, preferred.

2. Unless perhaps there was a similar one on the accession of Vitellius. Cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 55. In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur. The existing fragment of the law affecting Vespasian will be found in Bruns' *Fontes Juris Romani antiqui* p. 192. Cf. Tac. Hist. iv. 3. Senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit.

3. Dio, liii. 18. After enumerating the list of imperial titles:—καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαί ἅμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολύ, ... δίδονται τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους ὡς ἕκασται ἐψηφίζοντο. lix. 3 (of Caligula)—μοναρχικώτατος ἐγένετο· ὥστε πάντα ὅσα ὁ Αὔγουστος ἐν τοσούτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνῳ μόλις καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ψηφισθέντα οἱ ἐδέξατο, ἓν ἔνια ὁ Τιβέριος οὐδ' ὅλως προσήκατο, ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ λαβεῖν.

The Imperial power as thus instituted by Augustus was in its essence a magistracy. The people remained in theory sovereign and the Emperor was their first official. He was not a king, and had no civil list, his services, like those of other Roman officials, being in theory gratuitous. He could not give orders to other officials of the State in Rome and Italy, and his authority was so bound up with his individual person that the temporary delegation of his powers, however necessary, was slow in making itself admitted. The first *prœfectus urbi* appointed by Augustus to look after the public safety in one of his absences from Rome, threw up the post as unconstitutional—which indeed it was.[1] If Augustus really had "restored the Republic," his place would have been taken as a matter of course on such occasions by one of the consuls. Still less was it consistent with the Imperial authority, as conceived and established by Augustus, that the Emperor should play the Persian king and remain hidden in his palace while his subordinates did all the work. Augustus himself led a life of singular publicity which must often have been trying to a man of his reserved and haughty temper, and worked both hard and constantly at public business. He took, and all the Emperors were expected to take, a considerable personal share in the administration of the criminal and civil law. He was commander-in-chief, and though greatly aided by Agrippa, on whose fidelity he could absolutely rely, still had more than once to take the field in person, while the supreme control of military operations and foreign policy in general was always in his hands. The organisation and management of the Imperial provinces also supplied the Emperor with much work

1. Incivilem potestatem esse contestans. Jerome in Euseb. Chron. (vol. viii. p. 551 ed. Migne). [Tacitus An. vi. 11, gives a different account—Messalla was incompetent *nescius exercendi*. This, however, is represented either as the ostensible reason, or as the rumoured explanation of his resignation.]

which he could not safely delegate to subordinates, and which moreover required his personal presence on the spot. It would be quite a mistake to conceive of Augustus as living quietly in Rome and governing the Empire from its centre. From the year 27 to 24 and from 16 to 13 B.C. Augustus was absent from Rome, most of the time in Spain and Gaul, and at the end of his life Africa and Sardinia were the only provinces he had not visited.[1]

The immensity of the burden, both military and civil, thus laid upon the Emperor, made it impossible, even inconceivable, that a woman or minor should hold that high office. The Emperor's wife had a position of great social dignity, and in some cases enjoyed the title of "Augusta," but she had no formal power, no place whatever in the constitution, and any importance she possessed was altogether derivative and reflected from her husband.[2] Rome never knew an "Imperatrix." And what applied to the Emperor's wife applied to a large extent even to his children. If the father lived till his son had grown to manhood, he could no doubt practically assure the succession by obtaining the tribunician power for him from the Senate, and seeing that the army was well in hand. But if he died while his son was yet a boy, the place was practically open to the man who could show his fitness for it. This absence of any fixed system of succession was perhaps the gravest blot on the Augustan constitution. But it was inseparable from Augustus' fundamental conception, which was that the Emperor should not be a king at all, but first citizen and chief official of the State. The son of such a personage no more necessarily took his father's place than does the

[1. This statement can hardly be taken to apply to all the smaller provinces. Was Augustus ever in Crete or in Cilicia ?]

2. Digest. i. 3, 31. Princeps legibus solutus est; Augusta autem licet legibus soluta non est, principes tamen eadem illi privilegia tribunnt quae ipsi habent.

son of an English Secretary of State or Lord Chief Justice.[1]

The Emperor's titles and personal insignia corresponded pretty accurately to this conception of him as first citizen and new high official. He never assumed the dangerous, and to a Roman ear accursed, name of King. The title of Dictator was avoided by Augustus with equal strictness, and of the early Emperors no one but Caligula and Domitian suffered himself to be addressed as "Dominus."[2] "Imperator," "Princeps," and "Augustus," were on the other hand recognised titles of the new great personage, and where we speak loosely of the "reign"[3] of a Tiberius or a Claudius a Roman would have spoken of the "principate."[4]

The title of Imperator was not new. Under the Republic a successful general might be acclaimed as "Imperator" on the field of battle, and this might happen more than once. Thus a man might be "Imperator II.," or "Imperator III." But the peculiarity of the Empire was that the title now came first, and was in fact made part of the

1. Augustus has been blamed for not establishing an hereditary monarchy; but the criticism does not take account of the fundamental Roman conceptions which would have been thereby outraged. The ultimate sovereignty of the Roman people, and, therefore, the elective nature of all authority, were ideas of which a Roman could no more divest himself than he could of his own skin.

2. Tac. Ann. i. 9. Non regno tamen, neque dictatura sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam. Suet. Aug. 53. Domini appellationem ut maledictum et opprobrium semper exhorruit, dominumque se posthac appellari ne a liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel joco passus est atque hujus modi blanditias etiam inter ipsos prohibuit. After Domitian's death, Martial (x. 72) writes, referring to Nerva, his ultra-constitutional successor:—Dicturus dominum deumque non sum . . . . . Non est hic dominus, sed imperator, sed justissimus omnium senator . . . . . Hoc sub principe, si sapis, caveto, Verbis, Roma, prioribus loquaris. The contrast between the Late and Early Empire is indicated by the fact that at the court of Justinian it was an offence against etiquette to call the Emperors anything but δεσποτής, and the Empress anything but δέσποινα.

3. The phrase is too convenient, indeed too necessary, to be dropped, and it will often recur in these pages. But it is of course, strictly speaking, inexact.

[4. The title of Princeps though used by Augustus in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* is rarely employed in official documents, cf. Gardthausen ii. 2, 292.]

proper name. It took the place of the reigning Emperor's prænomen. The odd thing was that the Emperors were also ready to accept the title in the old Republican way as a purely honorary distinction, and with the number of times the distinction had been given added, so that such inscriptions as "*Imperatori* Cæsari Augusto Divi Filio Pontifici Maxumo Tribunicia Potestate XV *Imperatori XIII*," are extremely common, and it was not till the reign of Tiberius was well advanced that ordinary Roman generals were altogether excluded from the enjoyment of it.[1] But as the prænomen the title of Imperator was always distinctly and exclusively Imperial. The title indicating supreme military power was thus absolutely identified with the person of the Emperor, and the popular mind became accustomed to regard its "commander-in-chief" as necessarily its master. At the same time, it was not the policy of Augustus, particularly where Rome and Italy were concerned, to insist too exclusively upon his military position, and some purely civil title was wanted.

This was supplied by "princeps," the favourite title of Augustus and Tiberius, and indeed of all Emperors who were anxious to follow closely the lines of the Augustan constitution. "Me principe," "ante me principem" are phrases which occur in the Ancyran monument of Augustus, and Tiberius was wont to say that he was "dominus of the slaves, imperator of the soldiers, and princeps of the citizens."[2] There was nothing invidious

1. The last man thus saluted Imperator was Junius Blaesus (A.D. 22). The last "Triumphator" (not a member of the Imperial house) was Cornelius Balbus (B.C. 19). "The ornamenta triumphalia" lasted longer. But after Trajan there is no further trace of them.

2. Cicero, *Ad. Fam.* i. 9, 11. Cum autem in republica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset *De Natura Deorum* iii. 5, 11. M. Catoni qui tum erat princeps *De Oratore* i. 52, 225. Tibi Crasse . . . clarissimo viro et amplissimo et principi civitatis. Vell Pater, ii. 22. M. Antonius princeps civitatis. Nepos, *Cato* 2. Ibi cum diutius moraretur (Cato), P. Scipio Africanus consul iterum voluit eum de provincia depellere et ipse ei succedere. Neque hoc per senatum efficere potuit, cum quidem Scipio principatum in civitate obtineret, quod tum non potentia sed jure respublica administrabatur.

about the title, which only conveyed a vague suggestion of priority—much as we might say "First Citizen"—and which had been applied to exceptionally distinguished personages even under the Republic. It was not identical with "princeps senatus," though no doubt there was a certain confusion between the two titles, and whatever prestige there was attaching to the "princeps senatus"—a position now exclusively reserved for the Emperor,—passed on to the "princeps civium."[1] In any case the title, though a favourite with Augustus[2] and some of his successors, was too vague and too much bound up with Republican ideas to find a place among the regular official titles of the Emperor on inscriptions and coins, while it was too exclusively Roman and too unpretending to be a good designation for the Emperor in the provinces, in vassal-kingdoms, or in foreign States.

For this purpose the honorary appellation of Augustus which had been voted by the Senate to Octavian on his "restitution of the Republic" in B.C. 27 was admirably fitted. It had about it the same semi-divine character as attached to that appellation of "Divi Filius" which Augustus, while repudiating the title of "Divus," was not unwilling to accept. As Dio puts it, the name implies that he was "something more than human."[3] Tiberius, who

1. This collocation of words does not actually occur in the authors.

2. Horace knew he was saying what would be agreeable to Augustus when he told him (Od., i. 2, 50). Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps.

3. Dio, liii. 16. *βουληθέντων γάρ σφων ἰδίως πως αὐτὸν προσειπεῖν, καὶ τῶν μὲν τό, τῶν δὲ τό, καὶ ἐσηγουμένων καὶ αἱρουμένων, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεθύμει μὲν ἰσχυρῶς Ῥωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὑποπτεύεται ἐκ τούτου τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιθυμεῖν οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ Αὔγουστος, ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὤν, ἐπεκλήθη. πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐντιμότατα καὶ ἱερώτατα αὔγουστα προσαγορεύεται. Ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ Σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑλληνίζοντές πως ὥσπερ τινὰ σεπτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι προσεῖπον.*

Suet. Aug., 7. Postea Caesaris et deinde Augusti cognomen adsumpsit, alterum testamento majoris avunculi, alterum Munatii Planci sententia, quum quibusdam censentibus Romulum appellari oportere, quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis, praevaluisset ut Augustus potius vocaretur, non tantum novo sed etiam ampliore cognomine.

was a plain man of business with a dislike to such pretensions, avoided the title except in his communications with other potentates, but for that purpose it was essential, and even Tiberius is always "Augustus" on coins and inscriptions. What with its old, semi-sacred associations, and what with the new associations imported into it by the world-wide power of the Emperors who bore it, the name obtained an extraordinary weight and majesty, far outshining that of King. The later Emperors might have called themselves Kings or anything else they pleased; the dagger of a Brutus was then no longer to be dreaded; but they had plenty of kings among their vassals, and there was no temptation to exchange the unique title of Augustus for anything so common and so cheap.

The same clinging to Republican tradition, combined with the same occasional, and as it were involuntary revelation of new and definitely monarchial tendencies, appears in the outward personal distinctions of the reigning Emperor. As triumvir Augustus had twenty-four lictors, but when he "restored the Republic" he reverted to the normal number of twelve, and the double number, which was the clearest possible sign of difference from and superiority to all other magistrates, did not reappear before Domitian. The laurel wreath which Augustus was authorised to wear at all times and places was nothing new. It had been the ordinary distinction of triumphing generals under the Republic. But it had been worn by them only at public festivals; and when, on the one hand, this restriction was removed, and, on the other hand, the familiar honour became an Imperial monopoly—which it did at an early period in the history of the Empire—the result was something not so very unlike a crown in the ordinary sense. The erection of statues to reigning Emperors was not an

absolutely exclusive privilege. The practice of erecting statues to living persons had crept in under the late Republic, and under the Empire was not at first an absolute Imperial monopoly. But it was more and more restricted, and soon no living person but the Emperor could have a statue. Such statues of the reigning Emperor could be erected anywhere, and were of course extremely common. But in one place—the military chapel in every legionary camp—the exhibition of the Emperor's likeness was not merely optional, it was compulsory, and for a man's image to be set up in these chapels was the outward and visible sign that the army recognised him as Emperor, just as the removal of his image was a sign that the army, or at all events the particular legion concerned, repudiated him.[1] This public and exclusive exhibition of the Emperor's likeness, and the Augustan idea of the Emperor as First Citizen and high official among other citizens and other officials, were clearly inconsistent. But when the Emperor's likeness was put upon the coins, the abandonment by Augustus himself of his ground-idea was still more evident. As long as the Republic lasted the prohibition against placing the likeness of any living man upon a coin had been rigorously upheld. But the privilege was given to Cæsar by the Senate in B.C. 44; the Triumvirs followed his example; and it was maintained by Augustus even after his "restoration of the Republic" in B.C. 27. It was inconsistent with the general lines of his system, and a long step towards avowed monarchy; but such inconsistencies were inevitable in the case of a system so artificial. The bottom facts of the situation were bound to crop up at one point or another, and inconsistent or no, the privilege was too necessary to be dropped.

[1. It is more correct to say that this honour depended on the permission of the Senate, which practically meant its restriction to members of the reigning house. Cf. Mommsen, St. R. i., pp. 451-2.]

It would be a mistake for a moment to imagine that the artificiality of Augustus' system and the disguises in which he wrapped it did not have very great and important consequences. For instance, the Emperor, being in theory no king, but an official and a citizen, could not have a court. His house and household were not at first distinguished from those of any other rich and powerful Roman noble otherwise than by their exceptional scale. The morning levée was nothing new; still less were the hosts of slaves and freedmen, engaged on the personal service and private business of the Emperor. His chamberlain was originally a mere valet, and the able men who looked after his enormous correspondence had the power of Secretaries of State, while their status was that of servants. No free-born Roman citizen could take service with another citizen. The Emperor was thus thrown back upon slaves and freedmen, chiefly Orientals, for the discharge of all his private business, and he had his own reasons for acquiescing in that arrangement, indeed for rather liking it than otherwise. The Greek freedmen who did most of the work were presumably devoted to his interests; their acquirements and intelligence were of a higher level than could readily be found elsewhere, and if they went wrong it was a great convenience that they could be quickly and summarily punished. The worst of it was that the Emperor's private business was in reality public business of the highest moment. For this pestilent confusion between the Emperor's affairs and the State affairs, between the Emperor's property and State property, Augustus was in the main responsible. It is no doubt the fact that an official class in the modern sense did not exist at Rome in his time, and had to be built up by successive Emperors. But by his refusal to acknowledge the realities of things, and to give the Emperor a name and a status which should

clearly part him off as different in kind from other citizens and other magistrates, Augustus delayed that process and gave the Empire a bad start. The monstrous anomaly of the "Freedmen-government" which we shall find fully developed under Claudius, must in equity be traced back to him. According to the theory of Augustus the Emperor's servants were ordinary servants and his clerks were ordinary clerks. But when a man is master of half the world, his servants cannot but be great personages, and the clerks who transact his business cannot but be Ministers. The Emperor's three chief secretaries (*ab epistulis, a rationibus,* and *a libellis*)[1] had the income of millionaires and the influence of chancellors, while all the time their legal status was below that of a freeborn Roman beggar.

The conduct of State business was not however completely engrossed by these low-born Orientals. Over against them stood the rich, ultra-Roman, and, as a rule, high-born Senators, who had a traditional claim to public employment, and who formed the nearest approach to a trained official class that Rome possessed. Augustus left a great deal in their hands, partly because he himself was a conservative and aristocrat at heart, and therefore disposed to favour them; partly because the men of rank and capacity needed for great public positions were not elsewhere to be had. He could employ a freedman as his private secretary, and in fact could not employ anybody else; but he could not make freedmen judges at Rome or governors of provinces. For such public business, as distinguished from the nominally private business of the

1. *Ab epistulis*—the Emperor's correspondence (with foreign states, provincial governors, etc.); *a rationibus*—his accounts; *a libellis*—the petitions and memorials addressed to him from all parts of the Empire, and returned with his remarks.

Emperor, only senators were qualified alike by the prestige of rank and by an ingrained familiarity with State affairs. Not only the provinces of the Senate but those of the Emperor as well, were governed by Senators, and if we are asked to admit the existence of a Dyarchy, or division of sovereignty between Senate and Emperor, under the rule of Augustus and his immediate successors, it must be on the ground of the official positions monopolised by individual senators rather than on that of the powers possessed by the Senate as a whole.

But the position of the Senate in the Augustan constitution is too important a matter not to be considered by itself.

THE SENATE.

CHAPTER I.

The Senate.

The powers and functions of the Senate under th Empire differed greatly from its powers and function under the Republic. It had been, to all intents an purposes, the Executive; under Augustus it became th Legislature and High Court of Justice, and under Tiberius the electoral body. Foreign affairs, diplomacy, the suprem direction of military operations, the decision as to war o eace,—all these became the exclusive business of th Emperor. The functions of the Senate under the Republi ad never in theory been more than consultative, thougl n practice they had been executive. Practice and theor ere now united, with this further development that th onsultative body was not—except on certain rare occasion nd as a matter of form,—consulted. The Emperor' rovinces were absolutely his own affair, and with th ingle and short-lived exception of Africa, it was only i hose provinces that there could be any question of war r treaties. In losing those provinces the Senate also los ts exclusive hold upon the purse-strings. Who holds th urse-strings rules, and under the Republic the Treasur *aerarium)* was little more than a department of th Senate. But with the Empire came in a separate imperia reasury[1] *(fiscus)* into which all the taxation of th mperial provinces was paid, as well as the proceeds o ome special sources of revenue in all provinces, senatoria s well as imperial, alike. The Emperor therefore ha his own independent revenues, and could pay his soldier r make a great war without having to ask the Senate fo

1. For the sake of convenience I shall in future use the term Exchequ or the *fiscus*, and reserve the term Treasury for the *aerarium*.

the necessary funds. If the *fiscus* failed, he could fall back on his *patrimonium* or personal property, which included such trifling items as the whole of Egypt, vast domain lands in many provinces, and mines in all of them. Instead therefore of the Senate supplying money to the Emperors, we find the Emperors making good the deficiencies of the Treasury from their own resources, and taking credit to themselves for their generosity in so doing. If they gave, they doubtless also took when it was convenient. From the first, indeed, the distinction between the two treasuries seems to have been little more than nominal. "The property of Sejanus was taken from the Treasury to be transferred to the Imperial Exchequer, *as if there were any difference*," is the phrase of Tacitus,[1] and Dio expressly describes the distinction as one of form and theory only. This appears to have been the case even when the chief officials of the Treasury were appointed by the Senate, but, from the time of Claudius, they were appointed by the Emperor, and we hardly find a trace of any attempt to protect this all-important senatorial prerogative against imperial usurpation.[2] A constitutional monarchy may for

1. Ann., vi. 2—"tamquam referret."

2. Under the Republic the *aerarium* had been under two quaestors, young untried men, holding office only for a year and of course elected by the Comitia. One of Augustus' first reforms was to call upon the Senate to appoint two *praefecti aerarii Saturni*, who had to be of praetorian rank. This arrangement led to electoral intrigue, and the next step was to entrust the management of the Treasury to two of the praetors of the year, who were chosen for that special work by lot. This took the appointment entirely out of the hands of the Senate for the moment, till, under Tiberius, the election of all the praetors alike passed from the Comitia to the Senate. Under Claudius quaestors reappeared in their old places, and the system of appointing the older and more experienced men of praetorian rank was for the moment dropped. But the essential change was nevertheless introduced by Claudius, for he appointed these quaestors himself. In the year A.D. 56, Nero reverted to prefects of praetorian rank, but he followed Claudius in keeping these appointments in his own hands. After his death in A.D. 69, the Treasury appears to have been managed for a short time by the praetors of the year; in other words, the Senate resumed the control of the Treasury for the moment—a fact which is of interest and importance, as a feature in the short-lived senatorial reaction of that year.

practical purposes be defined as one in which the power of the purse resides elsewhere than in the monarch. If the Senate had had that exclusive power, the much talked of "dyarchy" would have been a very real thing. As it had not, any more than it had any hold upon the army, the "dyarchy" never in reality existed.[1]

With the advent of the Empire the Senate thus lost much, and it lost the essential things. But it also gained much, and a superficial observer might have been deceived into thinking that the Senate of Augustus was a more dignified and authoritative body than the Senate of the Scipios. The legislative power passed to it at once; the Empire would have been almost meaningless if its introduction had not promptly led to the removal or at least curtailment of the rights and prerogatives which the Comitia had abused; and, granted that the Comitia was to be ousted, the Senate could not but come in to fill the vacancy. The only other alternative would have been to make the Emperor the sole source of law, but such an arrangement would by no means have squared with Augustus' "restoration of the Republic." After the reign of Tiberius there were no more regular "leges," with the exception of one or two under ultra-conservative Emperors like Claudius and Nerva, and even under Augustus, though instances of laws in the old strict sense, such as the Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea, and the Lex Ælia Sentia still

[1. The author's objection to the theory of a dyarchy seems too strongly stated. No doubt the power of the purse determines which branch of government has the final word, but in the early Principate the Emperor was not omnipotent, just as the House of Commons in spite of its financial control is not omnipotent. The word itself was invented by Mommsen. Perhaps, as Gardthausen suggests (see his *Augustus* ii. 2, 306), diarchy would be a more correct spelling on the analogy of such words as δίθυρος, δίφθογγος.]

of course occurred, *senatus consulta* had begun to take their place.[1]

Even more important were the new judicial powers which were accorded to the Senate. Under the Republic the Senate had had no such powers, even though the device of the "senatus consultum ultimum," as employed against the Gracchi and other revolutionary leaders, may perhaps be regarded as an attempt to seize them.[2] But when Augustus became supreme, true to his policy of taming and weakening the Assembly, he transferred all that remained of its judicial powers to those juries *(quaestiones)* which had monopolised the greater part of criminal business even under the Republic,[3] and moreover set up his own court and the Consul's court by the side of the juries. Now the Consul's court was the Senate. The Senate took the place and played the part of the council which assisted the praetor and other magistrates with its advice, and though for a case to be brought before the Senate application had first to be made to the Consul, once it had been so brought, that functionary was absolutely bound by its decisions. The Senate became in fact a law-court. There were thus three criminal courts in Rome,—the old juries, which still retained their functions, the Emperor's court, and the Senate,—and, generally speaking, a case could be brought before any of the three, with this

1. Gaius, i. 4. Senatus consultum est quod senatus jubet atque constituit, idque legis vicem obtinet. Digest, i. 2, § 9. Deinde quia difficile plebs convenire coepit, populus certe multo difficilius in tanta turba hominum, necessitas ipsa curam reipublicae ad senatum deduxit; ita coepit senatus se interponere et quidquid constituisset observabatur, idque jus appellabatur senatus consultum. Digest, i. 3, § 9. Non ambigitur senatum jus facere posse.

[2. Illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum, Caesar, Bell. Civ., 1. 5. In the case of Tiberius Gracchus, however, there was not even a formal decree of the Senate (Plut. Ti. Gracch., 19).]

[3. As Mommsen points out, these *iudicia populi* were practically extinct as far back as the time of Sulla, and needed no formal abolition (*Staatsrecht*, iii. 360). Dio, lvi. 40, must be taken as a piece of rhetorical antithesis.]

reservation, however, that it could be taken over by the Emperor either from the juries or the Senate, if he chose. The Senate was not limited to any one class of crimes or criminals. It is a mistake to suppose that it was instituted for the trial of senators only, in pursuance of the theory that senators could be tried only by their peers. Criminals of much lower rank now and then stood their trial before the Senate, and on the other hand, senators were now and then called upon to defend themselves before the Emperor. Nor did the Senate confine itself to the trial of political offences. Cases of murder, forgery and other crimes were also occasionally brought before it, and when a crime was a complex affair, not lending itself to easy classification under one of the juries,[1] the Senate, with its large general jurisdiction, was found extremely useful. The punishment of death, which had become obsolete under the Republic, was re-introduced under the Empire, and pronounced most often by the Senate, the Emperors naturally preferring to lay the responsibility and odium of such a sentence on other shoulders than their own.[2] Still, no doubt, as a rule the criminals tried before the Senate were senators, or other high-placed personages, and the offences with which they were charged were as a rule political. Trials for treason *(majestas)* and for extortion *(repetundae)* seem to have been far the commonest of all. There was no appeal to the Emperor, but in virtue of his tribunician power he could veto the acceptance of the original application to the consul, and the sentence (which took the form of a *senatus consultum*), might be vetoed by him just like any other senatorial decree.

1. The juries (*quaestiones*) were distinguished from one another by the nature of the crimes they tried. Thus there was a *quaestio de vi*, another *de veneficiis*, &c.

[2. This, however, was hardly the case under Caligula Claudius and Nero cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii. 960-1.]

Besides its criminal jurisdiction, the Senate was also an appeal court for civil cases. Appeals from imperial provinces went exclusively to the Emperor, while appeals from Rome, Italy, and senatorial provinces went either to him or to the Senate. If the "dyarchy" had been a reality, the Emperor would have had nothing whatever to do with the latter class of appeals; but this was one of the many points in which Augustus' principle, or pretence, of division of sovereignty—Senate and Emperor having each a definite sphere in which each was sovereign—from the first broke down.

The administrative power of the Senate was of course much curtailed by its loss of the imperial provinces and by the concentration of all military force in the hands of the Emperor. It could not even send twenty soldiers to repress a riot in an Italian town, and if the governor of a senatorial province wanted troops he had to ask the governor of the nearest imperial province for them. This absence of the physical sanction on which all authority must ultimately rest could not but greatly weaken its prestige. It was, however, obeyed. It had the Emperor behind it, and the Emperor was as a rule quite willing to supply the force necessary for the assertion of its authority. The internal affairs of a municipality, whether in Italy or a senatorial province, would not as a rule come before it, but it frequently had to decide disputes between rival municipalities, and could punish an offending town by forbidding it to hold gladiatorial shows for a given period,[1] or in other ways. Important branches of the administration, such as the maintenance of the high roads in Italy, and the collection of the taxes in that country, were taken from it, but a certain general supervision and control remained, and it would appear that a country gentleman

1. As in the well-known case of Pompeii. Tac. Ann., xiv, 17.

could not even establish a fair on his estate without first getting its consent.[1]

All these powers, however—legislative, judicial and administrative—were not, all taken together, enough to make the Senate a co-ordinate or rival power in the State. No one, looking at these powers alone, could have plausibly said that there was in fact, whatever may have been the case in law, a dyarchy or division of sovereignty between Emperor and Senate. The only thing which renders that statement plausible is the fact that when the Emperor wanted generals, governors, and other high officials to lead his armies, govern his provinces, and generally work the administrative machine, he was thrown back upon the Senate. There was no trained official class at Rome when the Empire was founded, and it was one of the heaviest tasks and most momentous achievements of the Empire to create one. But such a class could not be formed all at once, and at first the Emperors had no choice but to use the Senators, who were not exactly professional officials, but who were ex-magistrates and ex-governors, with an hereditary bent and perhaps an hereditary aptitude for the service of the State. Senators governed the Emperor's provinces, commanded his legions, levied his recruits, watched the frontiers, and looked after the high-roads and the food supply. They did all those things in the Emperor's name, and as his delegates; but no man who had once been admitted to the Senate-house ever forgot that he was a Senator, and the solid powers which the Senate did not wield directly, it wielded to a certain extent indirectly

1. Pliny, Epp., v. 4. The application was opposed by the people of Vicentia (Vicenza, between Verona and Venice), whose interests would no doubt have been affected by the establishment of a rival market in their neighbourhood. The Emperior Claudius asked leave of the Senate when he wanted to establish markets on his private estates. Suet. Claud., 12. Jus nundinarum in privata praedia a consulibus petiit.

through its individual members. There was a constant tendency in the early Empire to get rid of the old republican magistracies or to deprive them of anything to do, and to replace them by curatorships *(curatelae)*, appointment to which was vested in the Emperor. These curators, however, were always senators. Another new and very important official who had to be a senator, was the Prefect of the City, and that although he was appointed and held his place solely at his master's will. Augustus may have willingly multiplied these well-paid posts and limited them to senators with the express intention of thus associating members of the old families with him in the business of government, and enlisting their sympathies, or at least their interests on the side of his constitution. That is the account of the matter given by Suetonius.[1] But it must be repeated that Augustus had little choice, and that till there had been time to form a trained official class, the early Emperors could not but employ the Senators.

There was therefore a regular senatorial career. It included, firstly, the old urban magistracies, from the aedileship upwards;[2] secondly, provincial governorships; thirdly, curatorships and other special administrative functions to which men were appointed by the Emperor in the interval between two provincial commands; and, fourthly, the Prefecture of the City. The same man figured at different times as imperial legate with praetorian power[3] in an imperial, and as proconsul or propraetor in a senatorial province. Sometimes he passed straight

1. Suet. Aug. 37. Quoque plures partem administrandae reipublicae caperent, nova officia excogitavit. Dio lii. 25.

[2. The aedileship had to be preceded by the quaestorship and the quaestorship probably by one of the minor magistracies, cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i. p. 554.]

3. "Legatus Augusti pro praetore" was the official title of the governor of an Imperial province.

from an imperial province where he had commanded armies, to a senatorial province where he had not a regiment or even a company at his disposal, or quitted sunny Narbonnensis, where the peace was as profound as in Italy itself, for purely military duties in remote and inhospitable Britain. From one or two posts of the first importance senators were expressly excluded. A senator could not, for instance, be Prefect of the Guard. That post was reserved to be the culmination of the competing Equestrian career, and when Vespasian appointed a senator to it, the matter of fact soldier, who had little sense or taste for Augustus' elaborate and artificial system, perpetrated a woeful solecism, and set an example which for a long time was not followed.[1] But, speaking generally, all the great administrative posts were held by senators under the early Empire, and that fact preserved to the Senate an influence and prestige which its direct judicial, administrative, or legislative powers would hardly have secured to it.

Neither the direct nor indirect influence of the Senate was, however, quite the same at the end of Augustus' reign as it had been at the beginning, and under succeeding Emperors the process of change and encroachment went steadily on. That was not a matter of deliberate intention, and if we represented Augustus to ourselves as a finished hypocrite who gave with one hand only to take away with the other, and who had the fixed design all through of concentrating all power in his single person, we should be mistaken. On the one hand, the proved incompetence of

1. [The Senator so appointed was Arretinus Clemens (Tac. Hist. iv. 68).] Marcus Aurelius expressly refused to appoint a senator. Hist. Aug. Scrip. vit. Pertin. 2. Alexander Severus changed the system altogether, and made senatorial rank an essential qualification for the post; but by that time Augustus' fundamental principles had been forgotten or obscured, and the Senate was too feeble for the appointment of a senator to that great position to be in the least risky.

the Senate, on the other its natural anxiety to push off all responsibility from itself upon the Emperor and its indefatigable deference led to a gradual transformation of the whole system; but the result was to increase enormously not merely the Emperor's responsibility, but—at all events till a class of trained Ministers, who were given great powers, had grown up—his actual personal labours, and the burden upon a conscientious administrator like Augustus or Tiberius was almost too much for human nature.[1] It is safe to assert that both Augustus and Tiberius were at least as hard-worked as a modern English Prime Minister, and for them there were no intervals of comparative rest in Opposition.

But, however the change came about, come about it did. More and more the Senate lost its hold upon the Administration. The unavowed but constant struggle between Senate and Emperor, which was the inevitable result of Augustus' policy in putting them on a footing of ostensible equality, ended in the gradual reduction of the Senate to the position of a town council and in the exclusion of all senators simply as such from place and power. Even under Augustus the functions of the Senate as the great Council of State were to a large extent taken by the much smaller committee or Concilium, which he formed out of it. The first arrangement (in B.C. 27) was that this Council, consisting of the consuls, a member of each magistracy,[2] and fifteen senators chosen by lot, should be renewable every six months; later (in A.D. 13, the last year of Augustus' reign) the arrangement was that it should sit for a full

1. In the prayer with which Velleius Paterculus closes his history, there is a clear allusion to these Atlantean labours:—eique (Tiberio) functo longissima statione mortali destinate successores quam serissimos; sed eos quorum cervices tam fortiter sustinendo terrarum orbis imperio sufficiant quam hujus suffecisse sensimus.

2. *i.e.*, one praetor, one quaestor, &c.

year, and that the delegates of the Senate should be raised from fifteen to twenty.[1] We are told of this Council in its first form that it examined and prepared the questions which were afterwards to be put to the Senate as a whole, and this must have meant in practice that in nine cases out of ten the Senate voted as the Council wished, the more so as, according to Augustus' arrangements, the Senate met only twice a month, on the Calends and the Ides; while as regards the later Council of the year A.D. 13, it was expressly provided that its resolutions should have exactly the same force as if they had been voted by a quorum of the Senate. Tiberius maintained this Council, with the very important development that he did not confine it exclusively to senators. It contained at least one man of equestrian rank in the person of Sejanus. After the reign of Tiberius the institution appears to have been dropped; at least we do not hear of it again till the long minority of Alexander Severus. It is of course possible that this may be due to the imperfection of the historical record, and that the institution may nevertheless have continued to exist; but it is on the whole more likely that the development of the imperial bureaucracy on the one hand, and the increasing servility of the Senate on the other, rendered it superfluous. The Emperor still no doubt consulted with his "friends" before taking important decisions, and most of these friends would, from the nature of the case be senators, but the choice of such informal counsellors lay exclusively with him,—they might be senators or they might not,—and in case of disagreement he went his way.

It is not possible to point to many instances of the

[1. Dio lvi. 28. The later committee was considerably enlarged in other ways, as it also contained the leading members of the reigning house and the consuls designate.]

transfer of functions from the Senate to the Emperor. When once the Senate had been rendered thoroughly tractable and could be relied upon, there was every advantage in making use of it. What happened more often, as in the case of the bestowal of the *triumphalia ornamenta*, was that votes which had once been taken on the propositon of any senator came to be reserved for the initiative of the Emperor alone.[1] But cases of downright transfer of powers do occur. Thus the consecration or apotheosis of a deceased Emperor, which was originally voted by the Senate [2] on the proposition of the dead man's successor, became in the third century the exclusive prerogative of the reigning Emperor, and the right of dispensation from certain laws, a right which had belonged to the Senate that voted them, passed to the Emperor before the Empire was much more than a century old.[3]

The serious encroachments on the influence of the Senate were, however, those made indirectly, either by the substitution of imperial officials for magistrates, or of Knights and freedmen for Senators. At first these higher imperial officials were almost invariably senators, and, as has elsewhere been pointed out, that fact has always to be borne in mind in any attempt to estimate the real powers of the Senate in the early Empire. Still there was a great difference between a praetor or an aedile, neither appointed,

1. "Auctore principe." [This custom was definitely established as early as the time of Vespasian. Cf. Mommsen, St. R., ii. p. 854 *n.* 3.]

2. It was, as we shall see, sometimes refused, and at least in one case (that of Hadrian, Eutropius viii. 7), given only under great pressure from the successor. The right was very significant of the great ostensible position held by the Senate in the State. The same Senate which was the slave and victim of a bad Emperor in his life-time, became his judge directly he was dead.

3. Exemption from the penalties imposed on bachelors, &c., which were introduced at Augustus' initiative in order to encourage marriage, was given by the Emperor at least as early as Domitian. Martial ii. 92. Dio lv. 2.

nor paid, nor dismissible by the Emperor, and accustomed to take no important step except after consultation with the other magistrates and ex-magistrates of whom the Senate was composed, and one of the new paid curators who held his appointment at the Emperor's pleasure and who took orders from his master only. These commissioners divided between them most of the powers which had formerly been concentrated in the hands of the censors and the aediles. The disappearance of the censorship left a void which could not remain unfilled for long, and the proved incompetence of the Senate compelled Augustus to take from it such branches of the administration as had real practical importance and could not be mismanaged without danger. Above all, Augustus was bound to provide a better system of corn supply. It was one of the tacit conditions of the adhesion of the Roman people to the Empire that the Empire should feed them, and in B.C. 22, when the old system had broken down and there was imminent danger of famine, Augustus had no choice but to take over that immense branch of the administration and appoint his own commissioners. He might risk many things, but he could not risk bread-riots in the streets of Rome. These *curatores frumenti* were originally senators, and it was not till quite the end of Augustus' reign that they were replaced by a single *praefectus annonae* who was a Knight. Other special commissions of the same kind were the *cura viarum*, or superintendence of the main roads of Italy, taken over by Augustus in B.C. 20; the *cura aquarum* (aqueducts) or responsibility for the water supply instituted in B.C. 11; and the *cura operum tuendorum*, a commission roughly corresponding to our Board of Works, instituted in the last year or two of his reign. The men whom Augustus put into these new posts were, at all events in the first

instance, all of them senators; but they were not responsible to the Senate, whereas they were to the Emperor, and their position was undermined further by the procurators who were nominally their subordinates, but who did most of the actual work and who were body and soul the Emperor's creatures. Almost every important official post in the Empire came to be doubled or "understudied" by such an imperial steward, who was sometimes an informer, generally a spy, and always a check upon the high-placed and magnificent personage who appeared to the world to be doing all the work and enjoying all the power.

But the really important change and development in the system founded by Augustus was not so much the transference of offices from magistrates, who were of course senators, to imperial commissioners, who were senators also, but in the transference from senators to Knights. The fundamental idea of the Roman Republic, the idea, namely, that the Roman State with all its dependencies was absorbed and incorporated in the town of Rome, did not at once disappear with the introduction of the Empire. Municipal magistrates of the town of Rome were still in many cases magistrates of the Roman State. The distinction, which seems so obvious and necessary to us, did not occur readily to men to whom "State" and "City" were almost convertible terms. But the history of the Empire is largely the history of the way in which this idea was gradually broken down, and of the formation of an imperial, non-municipal bureaucracy. The Senate was bound up with this Republican idea, and the new official class was entirely independent of that august assembly. No senator could be a procurator or (with the exception of the Urban prefecture) a prefect; and as these prefectures included the viceroyalty of Egypt

and the command of the Guard, while a good procuratorship was the surest road to fortune, the exclusion, however masked by the theory that such posts of subordinate and merely delegated authority were beneath the senatorial dignity was a serious disability. Side by side with the old senatorial career a new career was formed, which had its own prizes to offer, and which was constantly adding to the number of those prizes by encroachment on what had originally been set aside as the exclusive province of senatorial rank. This was the Equestrian career. A Knight, or *Eques*, could rise to be a Senator, and indeed the practice of recruiting the Senate from the wealthiest and most distinguished Knights was so fully recognised that we find the Equestrian order called the "seed-plot of the Senate."[1] Thus the prefect of the Guard, after the expiry of his command, passed at once into the Senate, just as the first captain (primipilaris) of a legion received Equestrian rank on receiving his discharge.[2] But the converse did not hold good. No Senator could become a Knight, or could hold any of the commands or offices which were reserved for members of the Equestrian Order. Over against the Italian, hereditary, military, landed aristocracy of the Senate, grew up this gentry with its purely personal privileges, which was as much provincial as Italian, not necessarily domiciled at Rome, enriched rather by speculation and business than by land, and sharply sundered from the senatorial order by the usual jealousy between land and trade, as well as by the old historic opposition between the two orders which had been

1. "Seminarium senatorum." Hist. Aug., vita Alex. Sever., 19. Imperial *adlectio* of specially favoured persons into the Senate was confined to Knights, and in that way Knights were sometimes kicked upstairs into the Senate against their will. Suet. Claud., 24.

[2. Both these statements must be taken as only generally correct (cf. Mommsen St. R. ii. 868; Marquardt Staatsverwaltung., ii. 377).]

one of the great leading facts of Roman history ever since the days of Gaius Gracchus.

The qualifications for Equestrian rank were free birth, good character, and, above all, the possession of at least 400,000 sesterces (about £4,000). In common parlance, particularly in the provinces, any man with these qualifications was a Knight. But, strictly speaking, and for all official purposes, a Knight was a man who, being possessed of all these qualifications, had received his horse (*equus publicus*) from the Emperor's hand. As many as 5,000 such *Equites equo publico* took part in the annual review and procession of the Order through the streets of Rome, and it is of course extremely improbable that all the Knights living in Italian and provincial towns were present on such occasions. We happen to know that there were 500 such Knights at Gades (Cadiz) in Spain, and at least as many at Patavium (Padua) in Italy. As sole donor of the *equus publicus*, the Emperor could, of course, exclude any qualified person from the Order, if he did not like him. Even the *equus publicus*, however, did not make a man eligible for those praefectures, procuratorships and other minor official posts which constituted the Equestrian career. A man might perfectly well be a Knight and yet have no access to that career, and under the early Empire a record of previous military service was indispensable. The candidate for the Equestrian career began his military service at eighteen.[1] In the demoralisation of the later Republic the army had remained the only school of discipline and obedience and practical acquaintance with the work of administration, and in appointing to official positions Augustus showed the same preference for ex-military tribunes, ex-camp prefects and ex-centurions,

[1. The age does not seem to have been fixed legally. Cf. Vita Hadriani 10. C. I. L., XIV. 2947.]

and for the same reasons, as was shown by the Electors of Brandenburg in their attempts at reconstruction after the chaos of the Thirty Years War. When, however, the Empire was well under way, the increasing demand for special ability and special training which inevitably attended the development of a strongly centralised official system could not be satisfied by these old army men, and by the time of Hadrian military service had ceased to be the indispensable preliminary to the Equestrian career. Access to that career could be obtained through the law as well as through the army, and many cases occur of a man beginning public life as an *advocatus fisci*, or Counsel of the Exchequer, and ending it as procurator. Legal studies and experience thus came to be accepted as equivalent to military service, and great lawyers like Papinian, Paulus, Ulpian, entered by this door into the service of the State.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to lay down any hard and fast line of demarcation between the senatorial and the Equestrian career. Roughly speaking, the senators had the military, and the Knights the financial administration. To have given the Senators the control of the taxes as well as the legions would perhaps have been dangerous, certainly inadvisable, and if we may trust Dio, the strict separation of financial and military functions was recommended by Maecenas at the very outset of the Empire. The Knights lost something by the disappearance of the tax-farming societies which had been the curse of the provinces under the Republic, and by the introduction of a scientific system of tax-collecting; but a kind of compensation was supplied by their monopoly of the collectorships and all the higher financial posts, with the exception of the quaestorship in the senatorial provinces, and the prefecture of the Treasury. The procurators, who played the part of quaestors in imperial provinces, had full judicial authority

in disputes between the taxpayer and the Exchequer *(Fiscus)* ever since Claudius, and their real power is frequently described as superior to that of the legate himself. But while, as has been seen, the exclusion of senators from the financial control, on the one hand, was not complete and absolute, their monopoly of military command, on the other hand, was still less unchallenged. It is true that only Senators governed the regular Imperial provinces and only Senators[1] could command a legion; but the auxiliary troops *(auxilia)*, which were as numerous as the legionaries, were exclusively under the command of ex-centurions with Equestrian rank, and the prefects of the Guard and Fire Brigade *(Vigiles)* at Rome, as well as the fleets at Misenum and Ravenna, were also Knights. No Senator held military command of any kind in Rome or Italy. The definite meaning and purpose of this exclusion is brought into still clearer view by the fact that the Alpine districts immediately bordering on Italy, where the presence of some military force was necessary but dangerous, were also kept from the Senate, and governed by procurators, who were, of course, Knights. Among these "provinces governed by procurators," as Tacitus calls them, were Rhaetia and Noricum.

The one rule, therefore, that can be laid down with confidence is that wherever the Emperor's personal interest and personal safety were immediately concerned the responsible official was pretty sure to be a Knight. In accordance with this rule the prefect of Egypt was a Knight, and so were the commanders of the Egyptian legions. The early Emperors felt that they could not

1. Except in Egypt, where no Senator could set foot, and where, consequently there were no *legati legiones*. Each of the three legions stationed in that exceptional province was commanded by its *praefectus castrorum*, who was an ex-centurion and a knight. When Gallienus excluded the Senators from the army, this arrangement became universal.

absolutely trust Senators, whereas they could absolutely trust Knights, and consequently they took care to put the latter as far as possible in the vital places.

This division of office and command between senators and Knights was planned and set on foot, in its essential features, by Augustus. But it should be borne in mind that the organisation of the Vigiles, with the consequent withdrawal of ancient powers from the Senate and the appointment of a Knight to the command of the new semi-military force within the walls of Rome, was not undertaken till the year A.D. 6, after he had been Emperor for more than thirty years. After his death, moreover, the system took an extension which he had not foreseen. The concession by Claudius of judicial powers to the ordinary financial procurators in Imperial provinces marked a great change and the Freedmen-Government of that Emperor paved the way for a still greater one. Claudius was to some extent the victim of circumstances. The Emperor's private secretaries could not but become Ministers of State, if only because they supplied the need of some authority in which the colossal administrative system of the Empire might be centralised, and which would go on working even in case of the Emperor's absence or sudden death. What was intolerable was, not that these Secretaries should have such power, but that they should be freedmen. It was not, however, till Hadrian that the obvious remedy was applied by the provision that the great Secretaryships should in future be held not by freedmen, but by Knights.[1] That change gave the Equestrian Order a great increase of influence. The shifting of power from the Senate to that order was still further marked by the closing of the military tribunate to

1. Hist. Aug. Hadr., 22. Ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites Romanos habuit.

senators in the third century, and by their absolute exclusion from the army under Gallienus (A.D. 258—268). This meant the final collapse of that division of sovereignty between Senate and Emperor which appears to have been imagined, or at all events pretended, by Augustus, though far from fully carried out even by him, and the transference to the Knights of the Army, in which they had hitherto held only the inferior commands, as well as of the Administration.

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THE ORGANISATION OF GAUL.

CHAPTER III.

The Organisation of Gaul.

After his constitutional position had thus been settled, Augustus was free to begin the great work of provincial re-organization. Towards the end of B.C. 27 he left Rome for Gaul and Spain, and did not return till the beginning of 24. The nearness of those provinces to Italy, their wealth and military importance made it imperative that Augustus should take them in hand at the earliest possible moment. In Gaul Cæsar's conquests had been terribly conclusive, but the country was still vexed by inter-tribal wars and German incursions, and the immense resources which it offered in men and money had not yet been made fully available for the Roman treasury and the Roman army. No census had as yet been taken in the Gallic provinces, and without the census there could be no apportionment of the taxes at once effectual and just. There was similar work to be done in Spain, and there the task was further complicated by the fact that the conquest was not yet complete, and that the Cantabrian and Asturian highlanders "untaught," as the Roman Poet says of them, "to bear our yoke,"[1] were accustomed to plunder their more peaceable fellow countrymen living in the plains, and even to hold their ground against Roman armies. All the circumstances, therefore, impelled Augustus at once to set to work on that organisation and Romanisation of

[1. Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra. Hor. Odes, ii. 6, 2.]

Gaul and Spain by which the Roman Empire most evidently fulfilled its mission in the world. By holding Gaul for four centuries and stemming back the Germans for that period, the Romans made France possible and all that that name implies. Their work in keeping alike the German and the Moorish invader (for we hear of Moorish incursions into Baetica as early as the first century) out of Spain, in the same way secured that country for the Latin world, and the part which Augustus took in those two great tasks was by itself enough to give his name a right to a place among the makers of modern Europe.

The great war with Carthage took the Romans into Spain—only by occupying that country could Hannibal's communications be effectually cut; and the occupation of Spain made it necessary to secure the land-route thither through Southern Gaul.[1] For a long time the Romans left it to their ally Massilia (Marseilles), to keep the way open for them; but the Massiliots had difficulties of their own with the mountain tribes of the Alps and of the Central Plateau, and their appeals to Rome for aid inevitably led to interference on a great scale. In the year B.C. 121, Rome defeated the Allobroges (Dauphiné and part of Savoy) and the Arverni (Auvergne); in 118 the colony of Narbo was founded, and about this time the Province, including not only the country still called Provence, but Languedoc and Roussillon on the other side of the Rhône as well, was definitively put under direct Roman administration. The colonial schemes of Gaius Gracchias, who had been on the look-out for land on which to settle the broken-down Italian farmers, had no doubt also a good deal

1. "Semitam tantum Galliæ tenebamus antea," says Cicero (de prov. cons. xiii. 33) of the period before Caesar's conquests.

to do with the institution alike of the colony and the province at that particular moment. A flood of Roman settlers poured into the country both then and for long afterwards, and the fertile land was so speedily Romanised that by the time of Augustus the "Provincia Narbonensis" was hardly less Italian than Italy itself.

Outside the "Province" the rest of Gaul went its own way for another sixty years or so. Then, in the year B.C. 58, Caesar began that marvellous career of conquest which in seven years laid Gaul, from the Atlantic to the Rhine, and from the Mediterranean to the North Sea, prostrate at the feet of Rome. The establishment of the three new provinces of Belgica, Celtica and Aquitania followed in B.C. 50. Celtica comprised the middle zone of France, extending from the Rhone to Brest, and from the Seine to the Garonne. Its population was, as the name shows, purely Celtic. Belgica was Celtic, with Germanic elements; Aquitania was predominantly Iberian. The new provinces corresponded roughly to the three-fold racial division of the country. For the next six years all Gaul, that is all four provinces, including Narbonensis, was under one command, but in the year of his death Cæsar assigned Narbonensis to Lepidus and Belgica to Hirtius, while Celtica and Aquitania fell to Munatius Plancus, the founder of Lyons.[1] In the year B.C. 38 Agrippa was in Aquitaine, but his commission must have been a large one as we find him in the same year actively engaged in driving back German invaders across the Rhine. A decade later campaigns were conducted by Carinas against the Morini (Picardy), by Nonius Gallus against the Trevir (Moselle valley and the Eiffel), and by that brillian young aristocrat, Messalla, in Aquitaine. Messalla no

[1. See Appendix at end of chapter.]

only conquered the Aquitanian peoples, but, if we may trust the poet Tibullus, who was a member of his staff, pushed his troops in so many directions and so far as to touch the river Loire and even the distant Saone. Evidently, what with risings against Rome and inter-tribal wars, the whole country was still far from tranquil, and the boundaries of its provinces were readily ignored whenever military convenience or necessity suggested.

These constant military operations had, however, done much to make the country ready for Augustus. The prestige of his name, and the reorganisation which he promptly undertook effected the rest, and thenceforward Roman troops disappeared from the interior of Gaul. A third of the whole Roman army, comprising its best troops, was, however, stationed on the Rhine, and though its main and ostensible purpose was to keep back the Germans, it was evident, particularly to the Gauls themselves, that in case of need it could be used with overwhelming effect against insurgents in its rear. Still, it was in fact but rarely thus employed, and from Augustus onwards Gaul may be described as pacified. The object was gained by a tenderness for existing conditions and for the old customs and likings of the Gauls, so far as they could safely be left alone, which constitutes a brilliant example of Roman state-craft. The essential characteristics of ancient Gaul, as Cæsar found it and as Augustus found it after him, was that its soil was divided among a limited number of very large and powerful tribes. It was not a country of towns, though, of course, there were hill-fortresses and forest-strongholds which served as rallying points for defence and bases of operations for attack, and even under Roman rule the extension of what Tacitus calls the "civilisation of cities" in Gaul was extremely gradual outside the limits of the

semi-Italian Narbonensis. It was with these tribes, one after another, that Cæsar had to fight. They were sometimes large and powerful enough to be extremely formidable. In particular the tenacious and warlike race of the Arverni, inhabiting the Central Plateau, gave him much trouble. But a manageable number of large units was obviously better from a conqueror's point of view than an infinite multitude of small ones. Such an organisation of great and populous tribes was not favourable, any more than the physical features of the country were, generally speaking, favourable to that endless guerilla warfare which the Romans had to meet in Spain, and which made the conquest of that country so arduous and so long. Gaul was conquered in 90 years, whereas over 200, hardly one of which passed without actual fighting, were needed for the same work in Spain, and the reason precisely was that Gaul was far more highly organised, and in its great tribal communities provided something definite to strike at. Though therefore these tribes may appear at first sight formidable, and though it may appear strange that the Romans spared them, experience had shown that they could safely do so. What they had to dread was the constitution of a Gaulish nation, and against that they took precautions. It is clear that in Augustus' opinion Cæsar had gone too far in recognizing national as distinct from merely tribal divisions, among the peoples of Gaul. Augustus did not relish Cæsar's immense Celtica,[1] comprising, as it did, almost all the purely Celtic elements of the population, or his almost exclusively Iberian[2] Aquitaine. Accordingly he cut down Celtica with an unsparing hand, and,

[1. See Appendix at end of chapter.]
2. The Bituriges Vivisci (Bordeaux) were the one exception. They were Celts.

avoiding any name denoting nationality, called it Lugdunensis after its capital, the new Roman colony at the junction of the Rhone and Saone. He greatly increased Aquitania, carrying its northern frontier from the Garonne to the Loire, and adding to it the formidable people of the Arverni. The two greatest peoples of Gaul, the Arverni and the Ædui,[1] were thus administratively separated, and the Arverni themselves had further to submit to the loss of territory involved in the formation of the two new communities of the Gabali (Gévaudan) and Vellavi (Velay) out of them. Nor was Aquitania the only province which gained largely at the expense of Celtica. Belgica also took from it the three great communities of the Lingones (Langres), Sequani (Besançon), and Helvetii (N. and W. Switzerland). It is true that on its north-western border Lugdunensis received the formerly Belgic communities of the Caletæ (Pays de Caux) and Veliocasses (Vexin), but these insignificant gains were far indeed from being an equivalent. Of the general meaning and result of Augustus' changes there can be no doubt. He cut down the purely Celtic nucleus of the country to safe dimensions, and he did his best, by the addition of new and considerable Celtic elements, to denationalize Iberian Aquitaine.

These arrangements rendered all but impossible those national combinations which alone could be dangerous to Rome. Moreover they did not offend the susceptibilities of the Gauls. The Gauls cared about their tribes, and if Augustus had tried to break them up, he would probably have met with serious opposition; he certainly would have excited dangerous discontent. Augustus was, however, far too sensible a man to do anything of the kind. Instead of trying to destroy the tribes,

1. The Aedui now became the most important people of Lugdunensis.

he made use of them. They were so many ready-made taxation districts, and their existence saved an infinity of trouble. As a general thing the cities in the different provinces (each city, of course, including a more or less considerable territory), formed the administrative unit, and got in the taxes assigned to them. The quota of a city was fixed at so much, and this was handed over to the Roman officials when the time came. But of course such a function could be equally well discharged by a rural and tribal community, provided it was strongly organised and had a fully formed system of self-government. These requisites were fulfilled by the large Gallic *civitates*, and the Romans did not look further. They did not seek to Romanise the three Gauls directly by means of numerous colonies and the substitution of the city for the tribe. They founded two colonies in Belgica (Nyon, and Augst near Basle) and one in Lugdunensis (Lyons itself), but there their efforts at colonisation for some time ended. Narbonensis was treated very differently, and was soon studded with Roman towns, but from the first Narbonensis was rather a part of Italy than a province,[1] and, as a rule, when Roman writers spoke of Gaul they tacitly excluded the sunny southern land of wine and oil, where they were quite as much at home as in their own "Gaul" between Alps and Apennines. The essential difference between the Three Gauls and Narbonensis was clearly mirrored in the fact that Narbonensis supplied soldiers only to the legions, while the Three Gauls supplied them only to the auxiliary forces. From this fact alone, as we shall see later, it could safely be concluded that the organisation of Narbonensis was urban, whereas the organisation of the Three Gauls was tribal.

[1. Italia verius quam Provincia. Plin. Nat. Hist., iii. 5.]

Augustus fixed the total number of Gallic *civitates* (always excluding Narbonensis) at sixty, and when his stepson Drusus established the "altar of Augustus" at Lyons, in B.C. 12, and the "Council of the Three Gauls" held its first meeting in the same central city, each of the sixty tribes sent a representative. Under Tiberius the number was sixty-four, the increase being due to the transportation of four German tribes, the Nemetes, the Vangiones, the Tribocci, and the Rauraci from the right, or German bank of the Rhine, to its left, or Gallic bank.[1] There is some doubt about one of the sixty tribes, but as regards fifty-nine of them the lists in Ptolemy give certain information. There were seventeen of them in Aquitania, twenty-four in Lugdunensis, and eighteen (omitting the four German tribes which were added later) in Belgica. These tribes had on an average somewhat more, some of them considerably more, territory than that of a modern French department, and were, of course, further sub-divided among themselves. Each community, or *civitas*, appears to have included some four or five *pagi* or cantons, so that there were some 300 cantons (Josephus gives the precise number as 305) in the whole of the Three Gauls. We know from Cæsar that the great tribe of the Helvetii was divided into four cantons, and, moreover, included twelve towns and four hundred villages. These towns and villages had no separate political existence of their own. The cantons, as a rule, represented small tribes which had once been independent,[2] but had been absorbed in the larger communities

[1. This is not certain. The Rauraci seem always to have dwelt on the left bank.]

2. The *pagus Tigurinus* of the Helvetii is called by Eutropius (v. 1) *gens Tigurinorum*. Livy v. 34 speaks of *Insubribus, pago Haeduorum*.

of which they now formed a part. Traces of the old independence lingered on under the Roman rule, but the general arrangement seems to have been for the governing body of the community (*civitas*) to appoint a prefect in each canton, and it was quite in accord with the Roman system to sacrifice these small local autonomies, not at first to their own centralised bureaucracy—that was a fatal change which only came later—but to the larger local units, whether city or tribe, which took great part of the work of administration off their hands, and in which their influence was generally used to establish and encourage an oligarchic constitution.

Each of these large tribal communities had, of course, at least one capital. Thus, Aventicum was the capital[1] of the Helvetii, while the Vocontii,[2] inhabiting the foothills and outliers of the Alps, and consequently hampered by difficulties of communication, could not content themselves with one centre, and had two. Some centre was, of course, necessary, and the town supplied it, but the town was not the community. In the case of a Roman colony, the town and the community were one, and the large circumjacent territory of the colony was, strictly speaking, only part of it. Thus the colony of Vienna (Vienne on the Rhone) included the best part of Savoy, and Geneva was one of its villages. On the other hand, Lutetia (Paris) the capital of the Parisii, Agedincum (Sens), the capital of the Senones, and Durocortorum (Reims), the capital of the Remi, in no sense possessed or governed the territory of the Parisii, Senones, and Remi. They were simply the central points at which the Parisii, Senones, and Remi

1. Caput gentis. Tac. Hist. i. 68.
2. The Vocontii were of course in Narbonensis, but they constituted a regular Gallic civitas of the ordinary type. [The Vocontii was a *civitas foederata*, according to Pliny iii. 5, 9].

met. It is a very curious and significant indication of this fact that the old names of these departmental capitals in the great majority of cases disappeared, and were replaced by the name of the community. Men said Remi instead of Durocortorum by the end of the fourth century, and men still say Reims, Sens, Paris, Amiens (Ambiani), Bourges (Bituriges), Langres (Lingones). and Lisieux (Lexovii), instead of Durocortorum, Agedincum, Lutetia, Samarobriva, Avaricum, Andomatunum and Noviomagus. There are, of course, exceptions, like Burdigala (Bordeaux) in the territory of the Bituriges Vivisci, Aventicum (Avenches) in the territory of the Helvetii, and Vesontio (Besançon) in the territory of the Sequani, in which the modern term represents the name, not of the ancient community, but of the ancient town. These, however, are comparatively rare, and can sometimes be explained, as in the case of Aventicum, by the fact that the town afterwards became a Roman colony, and so attained an independent political existence of its own, while the greater part of the old territory of the Helvetii became dependent on it.[1] In any case, of course, even where the town had no political existence of its own, its actual importance as the capital of the community and residence of the landowners was considerable. We know that the nobles and great landowners among the Allobroges lived at Vienne, while the farmers and peasants lived in villages near their work, and the practice was doubtless universal. The result was the rapid embellishment of these departmental capitals and their growth into proportions which prepared them to rank, first as the seats of bishoprics, and after-

[1. Colonial rights were granted by Vespasian to the Helvetii as a whole, not to Aventicum as a town. *Aventicum* remained after the grant the expression of a *domicilium*; it did not indicate a *civitas*. Cf. C. I. L. XIII. ii. i. pp. 6 and 18.]

wards as the chief provincial cities of mediæval and modern France.

This organisation of the Three Gauls and the Sixty Peoples may be plausibly connected with the termination of Didymus' survey of the West in B.C. 27. When Augustus went to Gaul he found the survey completed and the geographical conditions of the country adequately known.[1] Without such knowledge the administrative sub-division of the country would have encountered great difficulties, and the census which Augustus took during his residence at Narbo would have been scarcely possible. This census again was the indispensable basis of the tribute, and the tribute, as Tacitus makes Cerialis say,[2] was the indispensable basis of the army. Gaul had great natural resources, and under the rule of Rome soon became extremely rich. The extraordinary facilities of communication offered by its network of navigable rivers were used to the full, and the great cities like Lyons were, first and foremost, centres of river navigation. Gaul had been a country of hill-

1. The evidence as to this survey is unfortunately very late, and some authorities (Marquardt, Bunbury, &c.), have doubted whether it ever took place, The chief argument of the doubters is derived from the silence of Strabo and Pliny, who do not mention it. The argument *a silentio*, however, always weak, is particularly so in this case, and the coincidence in time between the termination of the alleged survey and Augustus' departure for Gaul and Spain is a strong confirmation of the view that the survey really took place and was used by Agrippa, who monopolised the credit.

[The earliest mention of this survey which began in 44 B.C. and so far as the West was concerned ended in 27 B.C., is contained in a very late aud very inaccurate geographical compendium of the Fourth or Fifth century. Moreover, it seems not to have formed an original part of that compendium but to have been tacked on to it at a later date, though that is more in its favour as an authentic statement than against it. In any case, whether the details are accurate or not, an immense amount of information of the kind must have been collected, as the basis for the construction of the famous globe of the earth which was erected at Rome under Agrippa's directions (Pliny, N.H., iii. 17, cf. Marquardt, Stratsverwaltung ii. 207 ff., and Bunbury, History of Ancient Geography, ii. 692 ff.)]

2. Hist. iv. 74.

towns like Gergovia, Alesia, Uxellodunum; under Rome it became a country of river-towns, and cases like that of Dea Augusta (Dié) of the Vocontii, which stepped down from the hill on which the Gaulish town was built to the right bank of the Drôme, were common. Formerly, the guiding principle in the choice of a town-site had been defence; the guiding principle now became communication. In Britain also the Roman towns, with scarcely an exception, were on the rivers, particularly on the tongues of land at the junction of two streams, while the British *oppida* were planted on the hills commanding the widest outlook.

These facilities of water carriage had indeed always been used in Gaul. Hannibal found boats on the Rhône when he crossed it somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Avignon, and the trade between Marseilles and Britain by way of the Rhone, the Saone and the Seine was a considerable one long before the Romans set foot in Gaul. Even the great roads which were now driven across the country in every direction from Lyons as a centre,[1] as a rule followed pre-existent, though, of course, far less efficient, lines of communication.[2] But the difference between a Roman road and the Gallic forest-tracks was at least as great as the difference between the modern road and the railway, while the continuation of these roads up to and across the Alps simply revolutionised the economic conditions of the country. It led to an immense development of the inland towns of Gaul.

1. Strabo., p. 208. This was the work of Agrippa who governed the Three Gauls, B.C. 20 and 19.

[2. The chief lines of communication may have been, and probably were, the same in Gallic as in Roman times, but actual traces of them do not exist, cf. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, iv. 163. Dans l'etat présent de nos informations retrouver les chemins gaulois est à nos yeux une pure chimère; on puit cependant continuer à les chercher; c'est peutêtre inutile mais c'est assurément tres sain.]

Till the Alps were "opened," as the Roman phrase ran, the great centres of life and industry were bound to be on the sea.[1] It was only after carriage roads had been made across the Little St. Bernard and the Mont Genèvre that Lyons became the real centre of Roman Gaul and its chief emporium of trade. All the roads and almost all the rivers seemed to converge upon that one fortunate point. The development of the river-traffic did not indeed keep step with this absolute revolution in the road-system. Nevertheless, it too became a great and organised system, with despatch-boats and cargo-boats, guilds of boatmen at river-ports like Lyons and Paris, and fleets of barges capable of moving whole armies at a time. The Romans imposed a duty of two and a half per cent.[2] on all goods imported into Gaul, but there were no separate duties for each of the Three Gauls and for Narbonensis, and though the Romans do not appear to have been content with levying the duty once for all at a sea-port or on a mountain pass, but levied it, for instance, at Grenoble as well as on the Little St. Bernard, still the total duties payable were no doubt considerably less than they had been in pre-Roman Gaul (where such transit-dues we know existed), and were not enough to prevent the development of a great and active trade between Gaul and Italy. It was only by degrees, and as the financial necessities of the Empire grew, that these duties were multiplied till they were exacted on every ferry and every pass, and so strangled commerce.[3] In the first

1. Ammian., xv. 10. Hanc Galliarum plagam, ob suggestus montium arduos et horrore nivali semper obductos, orbis residui incolis antehac paene ignotam (nisi qua litoribus est vicina) munimina claudunt undique, natura velut arte circumdata.

2. This was the "Quadragesima (ʌ̄o) Galliarum."

3. An insight into this little-known subject is supplied by the following passage from Herodian. Speaking of Pertinax (A.D. 193) he says, ii. 4, 7: Τέλη τε πάντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος εἰς ἐμπορίαν χρημάτων ἐπινοηθέντα, ἐπί τε ὀχθαῖς ποταμῶν καὶ λίμεσι πόλεων ἔν τε ὁδῶν πορείαις, καταλύσας, εἰς τὸ ἄρχαιον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν. [For further information, Cagnat, *Étude historique sur les impôts indirects chez les Romains* or Desjardins, iii. 397 ff. may be consulted.]

century there was comparative freedom from administrative and fiscal interference; the multiplication of officials and of taxes was the fatal work of the later Empire; and Gaul prospered exceedingly. Her share of the taxes was equal to that contributed by Egypt itself, and the part she played in finding horses for the Roman army and men to ride them,[1] over and above great masses of auxiliary infantry, was also so important that it is not surprising to find Roman writers, with all these services in view, speaking of Gaul and Spain as the backbone of the Empire.

The Romanisation of the country kept step with its prosperity. The process was a natural one, and, outside of Narbonensis, the Roman Government did not do much to hasten it. Their cue was rather to respect Gaulish customs and institutions, and to avoid changes calculated to make the work of assimilation too obvious and too rapid. They did not for instance cover the Three Gauls with Roman colonies, as was their practice in some provinces, and were sparing of the Latin right. They were, it is true, hostile to the national religion as incorporated in the Druids, for the excellent reason that the Druid priesthood was essentially national and anti-Roman; but even Druidism was not directly attacked at once. That enterprise was reserved for Tiberius and Claudius, by whose time it had no doubt become comparatively safe and practicable. Augustus contented himself with abolishing certain practices like that of

1. Strabo, p. 196, says the flower of the Roman cavalry was Gaulish:—
εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν μαχηταὶ πάντες τῇ φύσει, κρείττους δ' ἱππόται ἢ πεζοί, καὶ ἔστι Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἱππείας ἀρίστη παρὰ τούτων.
The advice of the rhyming chronicler of the Battle of Bouvines (A.D. 1214) to his fellow countrymen was:—
tu, Gallice, pugna
Semper equo.
For the horses see Tac. Ann., ii. 5.

human sacrifice[1]—just as the English government in India, though in a general way its attitude towards the native religions has been one of impartial tolerance, has abolished Suttee and Juggernaut—and with setting up a rival religion which was as distinctively Roman as its predecessor had been Gaulish. Speaking generally, the Romans left it to the Gauls to Romanise themselves. They trusted to commerce, to improved means of communication, to the inevitable influence of a highly developed material and intellectual civilisation upon the malleable and adaptive Celtic race, and the result showed that their confidence was not misplaced.

In this, as in other respects, Narbonensis was unlike the rest of Gaul. Here the Romans relied on their usual machinery of Roman colonies and Latin towns, and the prevailing type of organisation was as strongly urban, in contrast to the tribal organisation of the Three Gauls, as was the case in Greece and Italy themselves. But the Romans had been in Narbonensis for a century; the country, whose climate and products reminded them of Italy, was full of Roman traders and bankers, and the great Greek colony of Marseilles had done half the work ready to their hand.[2] Marseilles, founded from Phocæa about 600 B.C. had Hellenised the coast from Antipolis (Antibes) to Emporiæ (Ampurias) both of which were among its colonies, and had conducted a great overland trade with Britain, while its hardy sea-farers not only

[1. Apparently Augustus had merely forbidden Roman citizens to practise the Druidical cult (Suet. Claud. 25) Desjardins iii. 293, note 4, points out that the writers after Cæsar's time speak of the human sacrifices as belonging to the past.]

2. Justin, xliii. 4. Ab his (Massiliensibus) igitur Galli et usum vitæ cultioris deposita ac mansuefacta barbaria et agrorum cultus et urbes moenibus cingere didicerunt. Tunc et legibus, non armis vivere, tunc et vitem putare, tunc olivam serere consuerunt, adeoque magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Graecia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Graeciam translata videretur.

visited all the chief Mediterranean ports, but sometimes, as in the case of Pytheas, who was the Columbus of antiquity, became scientific explorers, and ventured beyond the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Baltic Sea. The Greek language, or at all events the Greek alphabet, spread from this centre into inland Gaul, even as far as the country which is now Switzerland, and Massiliot coins have been found in Italy and the Tyrol. The fidelity of Marseilles to Rome in the second Punic war confirmed and increased this great prosperity. The expulsion of the Carthaginians from Spain, which was one of the results of that war, gave the trade of Marseilles its period of fullest development, and the establishment of the "Provincia" (B.C. 120 *circ.*) left Marseilles sovereign in its own territory, and with that territory even larger than before. It was a federate city of the first rank, and as such did not, strictly speaking, form part of the province at all. It paid no taxes, and Marius even gave it the lucrative tolls of the canal which he dug from the sea to a point some way up the Rhone in order to avoid the bar at the mouth of that silt-charged river.

Marseilles had deserved those favours by its fidelity, and the crushing severity with which it was treated by Cæsar for siding with Pompey appears at first sight to be due to mere personal animosity and caprice. But it was not so. Here, as elsewhere, Cæsar acted as a politician, and Augustus adhered to his arangements, even though there was a party in the Senate for restoring its former territory to Marseilles, and though his own sympathies must have been strongly with a city whose polity was regarded by the Romans as a model of aristocratic government and wise conservatism. It was necessary to push Marseilles out of the way, if Rome was to do her

work in Gaul. In the East, Rome was content to work through the Hellenic civilisation. It Hellenised rather than directly Romanised. But it was not content with any such division of its influence in the West, which it regarded as its own exclusive territory, and Marseilles, consequently, had to go. Cæsar confiscated almost all its territory, and the Roman and Latin colonies of Forum Julii (Fréjus), Arelate (Arles), Bæterræ (Béziers), and Nemausus (Nîmes), were planted round about on the land thus gained.[1] Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), which hitherto had been only a *Castellum* became a Latin colony, and its territory was extended, of course at Marseilles' expense, into the upper valley of the Huveaune. The Roman colony of Arelate (Arles), the great road-centre of southern Gaul, was, however, the one which encroached the furthest. It obtained the lower valley of that river, and its territory was almost in sight from the gates of the old Greek city. Much of the trade also of Marseilles was lost through the competition of Arles, which took its place as the

1. Pompey had given Marseilles the territory of the Volcae Arecomici and Helvii; Caesar that of the Salyes or Salluvii. Roughly speaking, therefore, Marseilles extended at least to the Durance on the East of the Rhone, and up to and beyond the river Ardèche on the West. In modern terminology it included the departments of Gard, Ardèche and Bouches du Rhône. These inland possessions were over and above the great extent of coast-line, which it had long held. The confiscation of this great territory made room for the Roman colonies of Forum Julii, Arelate, and Baeterrae, which were certainly planted on what had been Massiliot ground. The Latin colonies of Nemausus, Luteva or Forum Neronis (Lodère), and Avenio (Avignon), seem also to have been founded at Marseilles' expense. One of them, Nemausus, had a very extensive territory. The Nero of "Forum Neronis" was no doubt Tiberius Claudius Nero, the father of the Emperor Tiberius, who was sent by Caesar into Gaul (B.C. 46-45), *ad deducendas . . . . colonias in quis Narbo* (this was of course a second *deductio*, the first having been as early as B.C. 118), *et Arelate erant* (Suet. Tib. 4). This Tiberius and the Triumvirs after him carried out that comprehensive scheme of colonisation which, devised no doubt by Caesar, not only provided for the confiscated territory of Marseilles, but covered the whole of Narbonensis with Roman and Latin colonies years before Augustus made his first appearance at Narbonne as Emperor

Gaulish Ostia, at once emporium and port, and the city settled down to a simple but dignified provincial existence which was much appreciated by Roman fathers desirous of getting a Greek education for their sons without exposing them to the manifold temptations of Athens. Agricola, the real conqueror of Britain, was one of the many young Romans of distinction who thus owed the most important part of their education to Marseilles.

The country, in which the Romans were thus left undisputed masters, was a combination of Languedoc, Dauphiné, part of Savoy, and a minute fragment of Switzerland, with the district now called Provence. The Alps and the sea were its southern and eastern frontiers; to the north the Upper Rhone from Lyons to the Lake of Geneva, roughly speaking, formed the boundary, while from Lyons the frontier took to the ridge of the Cevennes, and then, after pushing across the scarcely distinguishable watershed to the junction of the Tarn and the Garonne, turned abruptly south and followed up the latter river to its source in the Pyrenees. On the west this composite province encroached upon Iberian Aquitaine, and included undoubted Iberian place-names like Illiberris and Caucoliberris; its central potion was pure Celtic; while to the south-east Ligurian, Celt and Greek were inextricably mingled. Its inhabitants ranged from the polished townsmen of Nîmes, Narbonne, or Marseilles, to the warlike mountaineers inhabiting the foot-hills of the Alps, and the surprising thing is, not that there was some diversity in the constitutional arrangements made by the Romans for this highly composite population, but that there was so little. Broadly speaking, the country became one of towns. It had twenty communities of its own, by the side of the sixty (afterwards sixty-four) of the Three Gauls, and of these nineteen were towns, with full

municipal government and constitution. The Roman colony of Vienne thus comprehended the whole territory of the Allobroges, and the Cavares disappeared, to be replaced by the Roman colonies of Arausio (Orange) and Valentia (Valence)[1] and the Latin towns of Avenio (Avignon) and Cabellio (Cavaillon). In the same way the Volcae Tectosages and Volcae Arecomici were thenceforth represented by seven or more cities, among which Nemausus (Nîmes) and Tolosa (Toulouse) were the most important. Each of these towns had a large territory of its own, and the whole land of the Province, with the exception of the one federate community of the Vocontii, was in fact parcelled out between them. The territory of Vienne extended to and included the village of Geneva, and Nemausus had twenty-four such villages, all paying taxes into its treasury, and all governed from it. The town, in fact, in Narbonensis was not a portion of the territory; Vienne was not a portion of the large district which is now called Dauphiné; on the contrary, the territory was a portion of the town, and the men who dwelt in the upper valley of the Arve were for all administrtaive and legal purposes "Viennenses," just as much as those who lived within the walls of the actual Rhone-side town itself.

Of these town-communities seven—Arles, Orange, Béziers, Narbonne, Vienne, Valence, and Fréjus,—were full Roman colonies, the rest were Latin.[2] Most, if not

[1. Valentia however seems rather to have belonged to the territory of the Segallauni (cf. Ptolemy ii. 10, 7).]

2. They are given as Latin by Pliny whose authority was Agrippa. But several of these Latin towns are called Roman colonies later on, and no doubt had a right to the appellation. Nothing indeed was more natural than that a town which had reached the stage of semi-Romanisation implied in the possession of the Latin right should in course of time be advanced to the full dignity. Thus Ruscino, Tolosa, Carcaso, Avenio, Cabellio, Aquae Sextiae, which figure in Pliny as Latin, became honorary Roman colonies later on, and were included—which no Latin town was—in a Roman tribe.

all, of the Roman colonies were founded before Augustus' time, Narbonne nearly a century before it, and the rest either by Cæsar's representative, the elder Tiberius, or by the Triumvirs (Antony, Octavian and Lepidus), who in such matters regarded themselves as his political legatees. Much the same appears to have been the history of the Latin towns, only two—Lucus Augusti[1] among the Vocontii, and Augusta Tricastinorum,—being ascribed with probability to Augustus. Augustus, with his narrow aristocratic and Roman temper, was far more sparing of such privileges than his illustrious granduncle,[2] and cannot be shown to have extended either the full franchise or the Latin Right beyond the Alpine valleys, Narbonensis, Spain, and Africa. Vitellius was the first to give the Latin Right to Northern Gaul,[3] while all Spain that was not already either Roman or Latin received it from Vespasian. A ladder of privilege was thereby supplied from the status of the ordinary provincial to that of the full-blown Roman citizen. A Roman colony was in theory and in law another Rome, with this important practical difference,

[1. Desjardins (iii. 237) thinks this was a *civitas foederata* under Augustus.]

2. The statement in Dio liv. 23:— τοτὲ δὲ (B.C. 15) πόλεις ἔν τε τῇ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ συχνὰς ἀπῴκισε, cannot possibly be taken to prove the *deductio* of numerous colonies by Augustus in Narbonensis. There is little or no room for such new colonies, and the modern historian of Narbonensis (Herzog, p. 109) is so impressed by this, that he takes Γαλατίᾳ to refer not to Narbonensis at all, but to the Three Gauls. There is, however, still less room for them there, and a passage in the Monumentum Ancyranum (ch. 28) shows that whatever Augustus did in this way in Gaul was done in Narbonensis, and not in the other three Gallic provinces. It is possible that Augustus founded the Roman colony of Valentia, and gave the Latin Right to Lucus Augusti and Augusta Tricastinorum, all places of importance for the new road across the Cottian Alps which King Cottius built for him. (Ammian. xv. 10). But if he did anything besides, it was only to add retired veterans to existing Roman and Latin towns in Narbonensis, and perhaps at the same time to raise the Latin towns, chosen for this purpose, to the rank of Roman colony.

[3. The extension of Latin rights to Northern Gaul began in the reign of Claudius, but did not go very far in the first century, A.D. cf. Mommsen Römische Geschicte, v. p. 89.]

however, that its inhabitants paid both poll-tax and land-tax, unless by obtaining the further privilege of the *Jus Italicum* their land became, by one of the legal fictions so common in the Roman law, Italian soil, and as such exempt. In Narbonensis this very exceptional privilege was enjoyed only by the Roman colony of Vienne. The citizen of every Roman colony possessed, however, the full Roman franchise, was eligible for office at Rome, and could not be executed or flogged without appeal. A Latin did not possess this power of appeal, could not hold land in full quiritian ownership,[1] and was of course ineligible for Roman office. The great distinction between him and an ordinary provincial was not so much one of fact as one of opportunity. It consisted in this, that every magistrate of a Latin town, and, later on, every member of its town-council, became *ipso facto* a Roman citizen as soon as his term was over.[2] Every Latin, therefore, of rank and means could become, and indeed could not but become, a Roman citizen. It followed that a Latin town was as trustworthy as a Roman colony, a large number of its citizens being actually in possession of the franchise, while every man of influence or capacity in the place could reasonably aspire to it, and that the Latin right was an essential, though gradual and unobtrusive, means of Romanisation.

So far, we get the impression that in Narbonensis the old Gallic tribal communities had disappeared, and that their place had been taken by towns, some of which were full Roman, while the rest were tending rapidly towards

1. *i.e.* he was without the *jus commercii*.

2. The *Latium Minus* meant that every magistrate of a Latin town got the franchise; the *Latium Majus* that not only every magistrate but every *decurio* also got it. The latter Right was probably introduced about the time of Hadrian, when it became necessary to give some inducement to a man to become *decurio*.

that status. It is a spectacle of an entirely urban civilisation. There was, however, one prominent exception in the shape of the Vocontii, a tribe of mountaineers, extending from the neighbourhood of the Rhone, between the Isère and the Durance, over the modern department of Drôme,[1] and portions of the Hautes Alpes, Basses Alpes, Vaucluse, and Isère. This people, lying secluded among their mountains, and traversed only by one high road, that from the Rhone to the Alps and Italy by way of the Col de Cabre, kept up the old life and constitution of a Gallic community to a surprising extent. They formed a federate state, that is, their relations to Rome were defined by a treaty *(foedus)* which was probably made with them by Cæsar himself, and which, like all other such treaties, gave them the power of making and administering their own laws, exemption from the tribute, and the right to compound for service in the legions by furnishing a contingent of auxiliary troops. On the other hand, they had, of course, no foreign policy of their own, and the very condition of their exceptional position was that they had proved by deeds their absolute loyalty to their great protectors. Strictly speaking, such federate communities were not part of the province at all. Each of them formed a State within a State, like Andorra or the little republic of San Marino. In the case of the Vocontii the constitution was absolutely un-Roman. A college of twenty, with one supreme magistrate called a "praetor"—and not two, as was the invariable Roman system,—governed the community and appointed the prefects of the cantons into which it was subdivided. It is a striking thing that a

1. The Vocontii did not touch the Rhone, but began on the east of it where, as Strabo says, the ascent of the Alps began. Their territory did not therefore include quite the whole of the modern department of Drôme.

portion of Narbonensis, that second Italy where Romanisation had been so energetically and successfully pursued, should have thus retained its old Gallic character, and nothing could be more significant of the praiseworthy freedom of the Romans from the passion for uniformity at all costs. In such matters the Romans were never pedants. "They valued the reality of Empire," as one of their own historians has said of them, "and disregarded its empty show."

The exceptional position of these Vocontian highlanders is very clearly indicated by the fact that they alone of the peoples of Narbonensis furnished auxiliary troops to the Roman army. The rest of Narbonensis took a prominent part, during the first century of the Empire, in the legions and the Guard; but the cavalry regiment of Vocontii *(ala Vocontiorum)*, which we know to have formed part of the garrison of Britain, was the only one of its kind. Augustus, who organised the army of auxiliary troops side by side with the legions with about equal total strength, made it the rule to recruit for the legions from town-communities only, and, in preference, from towns already Roman. In any case, on entering a legion, a man became *ipso facto* a Roman citizen, whatever his previous status may have been, and no one was thought worthy of that high privilege who had not been prepared for it, and already half Romanised, by the discipline and civilisation of town life. The *auxilia*, on the other hand, were recruited from tribal communities like the Vocontii, and represented a less advanced, indigenous, un-Roman stage of civilisation. An auxiliary soldier only became a Roman citizen after he had served his time, and when twenty years of soldiering under the Roman ensign and side by side with Roman legionaries had made him too at heart a Roman. The extent to which the Romanisation of a

province had been carried can therefore be gauged at once by examining the part taken by it in the *auxilia* and the legions respectively, and it is no accident that the essentially urban province of Narbonensis was strongly represented in the legions, while its total contribution to the auxiliary forces was a single regiment of Vocontian cavalry.

The early and thorough Romanisation of Narbonensis is yet more clearly indicated by another fact. It was an imperial province only from B.C. 27 to 22. In the latter year Augustus restored it and Cyprus to the Senate, as no longer requiring military supervision. The rich, town-studded, "unarmed" province[1] of Narbonensis thenceforth held the same relation to the imperial provinces of Aquitania, Belgica and Lugdunensis, as did the strictly analogous province of Baetica to the imperial provinces of Tarraconensis and Lusitania. Within its borders the Roman peace was absolute, and the only rivalry between its cities was for supremacy in population, wealth, magnificence, and all the arts of civilisation. The cities adorned themselves with beautiful and splendid monuments, of which the Maison Carrée at Nîmes (probably built under Augustus) is the best preserved and best known example; brought pure water from the hills by aqueducts which are miracles at once of strength and grace, like the Pont du Gard; and copied the games of the Roman circus in structures only less spacious and magnificent than those of Rome.

When we pass from Narbonensis to the Three Gauls we step into a different world. In Narbonensis a tribal community like that of the Vocontii was the rare exception; in the rest of Gaul it was the almost universal

1. "Inermes provinciae" is the general epithet of Tacitus for the Senatorial provinces.

rule. Even in Aquitania, where a Mediterranean coast-line[1] and the pervasive influence of Narbonensis hastened and facilitated the Romanisation of the country, there was not a single Roman colony, while only two towns—Lugdunum Convenarum (St. Bertrand de Comminges) and Augusta Auscorum (Auch)—possessed so much as the Latin Right. But the first conquest of Aquitania only went back to B.C. 56, and Roman generals of the first rank had conducted successful campaigns in the country so recently as B.C. 38 and 27. Messalla's campaign in the latter year did not require to be repeated, and Augustus had a clear field for his experiment. This essentially consisted in the effort to break up, or at all events to dilute and submerge the Aquitanian nationality. The people whom he found settled between the Pyrenees and the Garonne were in the main of the Iberian stock. The same race, with numbers of the same place-names, dwelt on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, just as do the modern Basques, in whom we almost certainly see the descendants of the once wide-spread Iberian people. There were no doubt Celtic elements in the Aquitanian population as it approached the Garonne, and in particular one great intrusive wedge had been pushed across that river from Cæsar's Celtica in the shape of the Bituriges Vivisci, a purely Celtic people. But in the main Aquitania as Cæsar left it was inhabited by one compact and warlike race, and that was a state of things which did not suit Augustus. Moreover, the original province was disproportionately small as compared with the other two provinces of Gallia Comata. Accordingly, Augustus extended the limits of Aquitania from the Garonne to

1. Ammian. xv. ii. Aquitani enim, ad quorum litora ut proxima placidaque merces adventiciae convehuntur, moribus ad mollitem lapsis, facile in dicionem venere Romanam

the Loire, while on the East he took in the Arverni, as well as the Gabales (Gévaudan) and Vellavi (Velay), who had been carved out of that great and formidable people. In other words, he submerged the original Iberian nucleus under a flood of pure Celts, at the same time cutting down Cæsar's Celtica to the far more manageable proportions of Lugdunensis and allotting the Arverni and the Ædui—in other words, the two Gallic peoples whose union might on occasion have been really formidable—to distinct and separate provinces. So it came about that of the seventeen Aquitanian communities (*civitates*) twelve were Celtic and new to that district,[1] while only five represented the old Iberian stock. The two races lived together without assimilation. In the auxiliary forces of the Roman army the original Iberian Aquitanians were represented by four *cohortes Aquitanorum*, the Celtic element by two *cohortes Aquitanorum Biturigum*. The other Celtic peoples of Augustus' Aquitania no doubt had their part in the two cavalry and eleven infantry regiments which had the surname *Gallorum*.[2] This Iberian separation lasted all through the Empire and was formally recognised at the beginning of the fourth century by the creation of a new province of Novempopulana.[3] The

1. Strabo p. 117, says, "fourteen other nations"; but in his list (p. 190) he names only twelve and twelve is the number given by Ptolemy, who in these matters is far the most exact authority we have. Cf. Desjardins iii. 165 ff.

[2. The evidence for the existence of such *cohorts* is mainly epigraphic, and we therefore cannot tell what was their total number nor how many existed at any particular date, cf. Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie iv. 1, pp. 231 ff.]

3. If the famous inscription of Hasparren is really contemporary with Augustus, the Novem Populi of Aquitania, even if they had at that time no administrative existence under Rome, called themselves by that name from the first. The inscription is so remarkable a proof of the Iberian separateness of feeling which has been referred to that it should be quoted :—

difference between the original Iberian Aquitania and Augustus' administrative Aquitania lasted indeed much longer than the Empire. The Aquitanians, properly so-called, were Romanised but not Gallicised.

The incompatibility of the two races thus shut up together within the limits of a single province made the growth of a strong provincial feeling difficult, but must have helped the process of Romanisation. The usual variety of privilege, which by giving the minority advantages to enjoy and holding before the majority advantages to which they might aspire powerfully co-operated towards that end, was provided by the establishment of three—possibly four—"free cities" in the Celtic portion of the province, and two Latin cities in the original Aquitania. The free communities were the Biturges Cubi (Bourges), the Arverni (Auvergne), and the Santoni (Saintes), with the possible addition of the Bituriges Vivisci (Bordeaux). The two communities which received the Latin right were the Ausci and the Convenae. The former were the principal Aquitanian people, and their capital, Elimberrum (Auch), which under Rome lost its ancient Iberian name for the brand new title of Augustas Auscorum, was the principal Aquitanian city. The Convenae, on the other hand, were of mixed and fortuitous origin. After Pompey had crushed Sertorius, the remnants of the defeated army took

> Flamen, item dumvir, quaestor, pagique magister,
> Verus, ad Augustum legato (*sic*) munere functus,
> Pro novem optinuit populis sejungere Gallos.
> Urbe redux, genio pagi hanc dedicat aram.

The date and genuineness of the inscription are discussed by Desjardins in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1882, xliv. 23–27, and *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine* iii. 158. But, whatever the exact date, the petition of the Iberian peoples, "sejungere Gallos" is immensely significant. That there were nine Iberian *populi* and only five *civitates* should not disturb us. All that it meant was that the Romans grouped several *populi* together to form one *civitas*.

to brigandage in the Southern Pyrenees, and these were the men whom Pompey, with that fondness for artificial city-making which distinguished him, established as an organised community on the other side of the mountain chain. Sertorius' Spaniards were already half-Romanised, and, isolated as these settlers were from their own kin in a strange land, it is natural that they should have attached themselves strongly to the Roman cause and shown themselves worthy of the favour that was accorded to them.

The trade of the province, which was considerable, must have brought a great many Romans into the country. The Petrocorii (Périgord) and Bituriges Cubi were iron workers, the Cadurci (Cahors) made linen, and there were silver mines among the Gabali and Ruteni (Rouergue). All these industries, particularly the mines, must have attracted Roman capital and been largely worked under Roman supervision. The rule, *ubicumque vicit Romanus habitat*, was pre-eminently true of a rich and peaceful province with a good climate, where there was money to be made, and by the end of the fourth century Aquitania was so thoroughly Romanised, and Latin so firmly established as the common language, that we find a Gaul from one of the Northern provinces introducing himself to Aquitanians with apologies for his unlettered Latin and the implied admission that he was a provincial by the side of them.[1]

As we pass into these two Northern provinces, and lose touch with the Mediterranean, we find the process of Romanisation becoming slower and more difficult. That is natural; what is surprising is rather that it was in the long run so successful. The centre from which Rome

1. Sulp. Severus. Dial. i. 27, sed dum cogito me hominem Gallum inter Aquitanos verba facturum, vereor ne offendat vestras nimium urbanas aures sermo rusticior.

worked was Lyons, that hill-city [1] at the junction of the Saone and Rhone, standing in the midst of Gaul like an Acropolis upon which the great Alpine routes and Agrippa's military roads converged, the nucleus of that river-system and that river-traffic which were so important in ancient Gaul as to be one of the distinctive features of the country, a city of contrasts and extremes, of fogs and pitiless sunshine, the meeting point of North and South, the "portal," a modern French writer has called it, "of the North upon the South," but from the point of view of a Roman of the Augustan age still more important as the portal of the South upon the North. This city of Lugdunum gave its name to the whole of the province which was called after it Lugdunensis. It was a Roman colony in the fullest sense, founded by Munatius Plancus[2] in B.C. 43 with the Roman settlers who had been expelled by the Allobroges from the neighbouring city of Vienne. Vienne too was a Roman colony all through the Empire, but there was a considerable difference in practice between these titular Roman colonies, whose inhabitants were not Romans in blood at all, and a genuine Roman settlement like that of Lyons or Arles or Orange. Vienne was called "Vienna Allobrogum," whereas Arles was "Arelate Sextanorum," [3] and Orange "Arausio Secundanorum" in

1. Roman Lyons was on the hill of Fourvières, on the west bank of the Saône. The tongue of the land between the two rivers, where most of modern Lyons is built, would have been the likelier spot for the Romans (who were particularly fond of such situations) to chose, if they had approached it originally from the north. The original settlers, however, coming to it from the south, and under conditions which made them think perhaps as much of security as of convenience, naturally chose the site of the ready-made Gaulish stronghold on the hill above the Saône.

2. C. I. L. X. 6087. L. Munat. L.F.L.N.L. Pron. Plancus Cos. Cens. Imp. iter VII. vir Epulon. triump. ex Raetis Aedem Saturni fecit de manub. Agros divisit in Italia Beneventi. In Gallia colonias deduxit Lugdunum et Rauricam. Cf. Dio xlvi. 50.

3. Narbo combined both these forms of title. We find it called by Mela "Atacinorum Decumanorumque colonia."

allusion to the original colonisation by retired veterans, who were, of course, Roman citizens, belonging to Cæsar's sixth and second legions. In the year of the Three Emperors (A.D. 69) we find Lyons at bitter feud with Vienne, and doing everything in its power to induce the soldiers of Valens' army to destroy that "home of Gallic rebellion" once for all.

Never was the rise of a great city less accidental and less arbitrary than in the case of Roman Lyons. There was an important traffic along that ideal commercial highway, the broad and sluggish Saone, even before the Romans came, and the city at the outlet of that river and at its junction with the arrowy stream which, though incomparably less well suited to commercial purposes, still supplied the needful means of communication with the rich cities of Narbonensis and the Mediterranean coast, could not but prosper as soon as the country was at peace and the power to strangle commerce by endless tolls had been taken away from the riverain communities. The Saone traffic did not end with that river, but there was a regular system of portage from it to the upper Seine, so that goods could travel by water, with the exception of that one transshipment, from Arles to Lillebonne (Juliobona) and from the Mediterranean to the Channel. Even more momentous were the consequences of the Alpine roads, which became for the first time real highways, several of them carriageable, under Rome. Lyons was the terminus of the Great and Little St. Bernard passes,[1] and the still more important route across the Mont Genèvre bifurcated about Gap and sent one

1. The Great St. Bernard route forked at Vevey on the northern shore of the Lake of Geneva, one branch crossing lowland Switzerland and aiming straight for the great Rhenane garrison at Moguntiacum (Mainz), the other running on past the Roman colony at Noviodunum (Nyon) to Lyons.

branch to Valence and Lyons, while the other continued straight to Arles. Lyons thus became the great emporium of the trade between all Central and Northern Gaul on the one side and Italy on the other. Not content with that, the Romans cut their new highways across Gaul from Lyons as a centre. From this point one road was driven across the Central Plateau to Limoges, Saintes, and the Atlantic; another took Autun, Sens and Beauvais on its way to the Channel; yet another sped to the Rhine by way of Chalon-sur-Saône, Langres, and Metz; while a fourth followed the Rhone downwards to its mouth, and so joined the great coast route which led to Italy on the one side and to Spain on the other.

Lyons was thus admirably adapted and equipped for the kind of metropolitan position which it enjoyed under Rome. Not only did the imperial governor of the province live there; it was also the residence of the official (*procurator*) charged with the financial control of both Lugdunensis and Aquitania, as well as of the Receiver-General (also a *procurator*) of the import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. common to the whole of the Three Gauls and Narbonensis. It must have been in a marked degree a city of bureaux. We know from Strabo that both gold and silver were coined there in the first century of the Empire, and it is the only city in the Western half of the Roman world of which so much can with certainty be said. It enjoyed the "Italian Right" *(Jus Italicum)*, and was the only city in the Three Gauls which possessed that much envied privilege. By the time of Claudius natives of Lyons had made their way into the Roman Senate, and its almost fraternal relations with Rome were indicated by its magnificent subscription of four million sesterces (over £40,000) to the rebuilding of the Imperial city after the great fire under Nero. Lyons

was, in fact, a Gallic Rome. It had even an Urban Cohort of its own,[1] numbered consecutively with the three urban cohorts of the capital, and was marked out by that extraordinary distinction as the second city of the Empire. This military police-force of some 1,200 men could not and would not have been permitted in a city whose loyalty was not beyond all question, or in a city whose size and dignity did not permit a certain comparison even with Rome herself.

A city which was thus pre-eminent even among the greatest cities of the Empire had, of course, an undisputed primacy in Gaul itself. When the altar to "Rome and Augustus" was founded by Drusus (B.C. 12) to be a centre of Romanism in Gaul its site could be nowhere but at Lyons. There, on the tongue of land between the two rivers, in front of the Roman city on the hill, temple and altar were erected; there the yearly festival took place, and the "Council of the Gauls,"[2] consisting of representatives from each of the Sixty States, deliberated on matters of common concern, sometimes, but rarely, on so important a matter as the drawing up of a formal complaint to the Emperor of the conduct of a Roman governor. The first high-priest of the new worship, who held his office for a year, was a member of the great Æduan community, the richest, largest and most highly Romanised of Lugdunensis. In other years we find high-priests supplied by the Arverni, Tricasses (Troyes), Lemovices (Limoges), and Carnutes (Chartres). "The altar is magnificent," says Strabo, "and has inscribed

1. This cohort orginally bore the number of XIII. The nine praetorian cohorts at Rome were numbered I.—IX.; the three urban cohorts at Rome were X.—XII; then came the Lyons cohort.

2. Narbonensis was not included in the Council. It had a Council and an *ara* of its own.

upon it the names of the Sixty Peoples, and carved images of them, one for each."

Lyons was the only Roman colony in the province of Lugdunensis; but there were two federate states, the Ædui and Carnutes, and two "free" peoples, the Meldi (Meaux) and Segusiavi. The Segusiavi had been detached from the Ædui of whom they originally formed a part, and the colony of Lyons was planted on what had been their territory. Lyons was not, of course, their capital; it did not govern them, and they did not govern it; they had nothing whatever to do with it; and perhaps the concession of "freedom" was a compensation for the loss of territory which the foundation of Lyons necessarily implied. The Ædui, with their capital, Augustodunum (Autun) were the chief Gallic state in Lugdunensis.[1] Their connection with Rome had always been close, and "they alone of the Gauls employ the name of brothers of the Roman people."[2] Their constitutional position in regard to Rome appears to have been very much that of a Latin town. That is to say, their leading men, their magistrates, were Roman citizens, whereas the mass of the community was nothing of the kind. Even the leading men, however, were Roman citizens with a difference. They did not possess the *Jus honorum*, and were not eligible for the Roman senate until, on the motion of the Emperor Claudius, that right was conferred upon them, first of all the Gauls,[3] by express decree in the memorable senatorial sitting of A.D. 48.

The rest of the twenty-four States of Lugdunensis were

1. Mela, iii. 2. Aquitanorum clarissimi sunt Ausci; Celtarum Ædui; Belgarum Treveri; urbesque opulentissimæ, in Treveris Augusta, in Æduis Augustodunum, in Auscis Elimberrum.

2. Tac. Ann. xi. 25.

3. Roman colonies in Gaul, like Lyons and even Vienne, had long enjoyed this right.

without special privilege of any kind, and during the first half-century of the Empire at all events the only way by which their citizens could attain the Roman franchise was through service in the auxiliary forces. No doubt, as has been already pointed out, some of these were supplied from the Gaulish portion of Augustus' administrative Aquitania, but the bulk were Lugdunensian, and this heavy contribution to the Roman army was surpassed only by that of the still more warlike Belgica.

The Belgae, who gave their name to the most northerly, most remote, and least Romanised of the Three Gauls, had the reputation of being the bravest of the Gallic peoples. Of the Belgae themselves the bravest were the Batavi, who dwelt in what we now call Holland; next, as warriors, came the Bellovaci (Beauvais), against whom Brutus had conducted a campaign as recently as B.C. 46; and then the Suessiones (Soissons).[1] The Batavi contributed 9,000 men to the auxiliary infantry, and 1,000 to the cavalry. The whole of Belgica, not including the numerous contingents from the German side of the Rhine, furnished at least 30 foot regiments (probably not far short of 30,000 men), and 3,000 horse. This military character of Belgica was very natural in the case of a province which had had a constant struggle to sustain against German invasion, and which had incorporated and to some extent assimilated the most successful of its invaders. The Batavi were of German origin; so were the Nervii, who fought so desperately against Cæsar, and the Ubii, who had been transported from the eastern bank of the Rhine by Agrippa and settled in the district of what is now Cologne. It was not even pretended that the Ubii were Gauls; they were not included among the Sixty Gallic peoples whose names

[1. Strabo p. 196, however, puts the Bellovaci first and the Suessiones second, and does not mention the Batavi.]

were inscribed on the great altar of Lyons; they had an altar of their own *(ara Ubiorum)* which was no doubt intended to play the same part in Romanising and denationalising north-western Germany as was played by the Lyons altar in Gaul, and a young chieftain of the Cherusci, that famous German tribe between the Weser and the Elbe to which no less a man than Arminius himself belonged, was its high priest even in the lifetime of Augustus.

German, too, were the Vangiones, Nemetes, and Tribocci, who were settled in the Western Rhine valley towards the end of Augustus' reign, and who, along with perhaps the Rauraci, constituted the additional four states which raised the number of the Gallic peoples from sixty to sixty-four.[1] On the other hand, the Treveri (Trèves), though they posed as Germans, were in all probability genuine Gauls from the first, and were in any case completely Gallicised. On the whole, it is easy to overestimate the German element in Belgica. Apart from the extreme north of the province, its population was Gaulish, and not German. Only slight differences of dialect distinguished the language spoken in Belgica from that of Lugdunensis, and in this, as in other respects, the two provinces were much nearer to each other than either of them was to Iberian Aquitaine.

Belgica gained, like Aquitaine, by the curtailment of Cæsar's Celtica, and the powerful peoples of the Sequani, Lingones, and Helvetii, which were transferred by Augustus to the Northern province, were as purely Gaulish as the Ædui themselves. The Sequani occupied the country later known as Franche Comté, with the natural fortress of Vesontio (Besançon) for capital. The capital

[1. See note, p. 86].

of the Lingones was the city now known as Langres. The Helvetii held the western half of the present Switzerland. The main route from Italy to the great garrison towns along the Rhine, passed through their territory, and Aventicum their capital, a city some ten times as big as the present modest village of Avenches, was situated on it. Both the Sequani and the Helvetii had given too much trouble to Rome to be in any way privileged during the first years of the Empire, and it was not till Vespasian[1] that Aventicum became a Roman colony. The Lingones, on the other hand, had been as loyal to Cæsar as the Remi themselves, and both fully deserved the privileged position which they held among the peoples of the new province. They were the only two federate states in Belgica. Durocortorum (Rheims), the capital of the Remi, was the residence of the Roman governor, and the chief city of the province, alike in prosperity and in culture,[2] until it was outpaced by Trèves, which indeed during the whole of the fourth century[3] was the capital not only of Belgica, but of the rest of Gaul, Spain and Britain also.

There were five Free States in Belgica: the Nervii, Suessiones, Silvanectes (Senlis), Leuci (Toul), and Treveri. Of these the Treveri were far the most important. Their city became a Roman colony, probably under Claudius, who gave the same distinction to the city of the Ubii, which is still called Cologne. The position of Augusta Treverorum in the rich valley of the Moselle, with easy access to the Rhine by way of that river as well as by the new Roman road to Mainz, and yet far enough

[1. Or possibly one of his sons. Cf. Mommsen, I. C. H., p. 27.]

2. The passage in a fragment of Fronto (ed. Naber, p. 262), *et illae vestrae Athenae Durocortorum*, is significant. Fronto was a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius.

3. From a passage of Mela it would appear that Trèves had become the richest city of Belgica as early as Claudius.

away to be out of the reach of any sudden German foray from the East, was a very favourable one. Access to the north, to Cologne and the great camp at Vetera (Xanten), was afforded by Agrippa's new road through the volcanic Eiffel, while yet another road, also no doubt due to the same great administrator, connected it with Metz, and Langres, and Lyons. Notwithstanding its advantages and its prosperity, or, perhaps we should rather say, because of them, the loyalty of the Treveri to Rome was for a long time uncertain. In B.C. 29 Nonius Gallus conducted a campaign against them. They went wrong again in the disturbances of A.D. 21, and even took part —though their city had by that time become a Roman colony, and though commanders of legions and governors of provinces had been taken from their number[1]—in the great insurrectionary movement of A.D. 69.

Augusta Treverorum in all probability became a colony at the same time as the great river-city of the Ubii, that is, in the reign of Claudius. It may possibly have been later, but it certainly was not earlier. Only Noviodunum (Nyon) and Augusta Rauracorum (Augst, near Basle) were Roman colonies from the outset of the Empire. Augst was founded by Munatius Plancus at the same time as Lyons, in the year B.C. 43;[2] Nyon, which was surnamed Julia Equestris, was probably founded by Cæsar himself and colonised with retired veterans from his cavalry. Nyon was a guard-house to watch the Helvetii, and its precise situation was probably due to Cæsar's recollection of their attempt to push through by way of Geneva into Narbonensis. In due

1. In Tac. Hist. iv. 74, Petillius Cerialis thus addresses the Treveri and Lingones:—Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris praesidetis; ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatum clausumve.

2. See p. 107

time Noviodunum became a great city, far greater than the red-roofed, black-walled little town by the lakeside which keeps its place and name, and an active centre of Romanisation. All south-western Switzerland was thoroughly civilised and Romanised, and that not by the mere presence of Roman troops, as in the northern portion of the country, but by Roman trade and settlement. Vespasian's father was a banker at Aventicum. At the further extremity of the Helvetian territory, Augst helped to keep open the highway from Italy to Mainz by way of the Great St. Bernard and the Swiss lowlands, and enjoyed most of the obvious advantages of position which have made modern Basle. But in this part of Switzerland the troops were the chief Romanising influence, and when the Black Forest was included in the Empire and the garrison withdrawn from Vindonissa, that influence ceased. So it came about that in the days of the German invasion some centuries later, the northern portion of this territory lost its Roman varnish, while the southern portion, though conquered like the rest, could not be Germanised, and is what we call "French-speaking" to this day.

This special kind of Romanisation—the Romanisation effected by military settlement—extended all down the Rhine valley from Augst and Vindonissa (Windisch, near Brügg) to Cologne and Xanten. Between these points were stationed no less than 80,000 men, to hold the Rhine against the Germans. Two great military commands were formed, the one extending from the Rhine mouth to the neighbourhood of Coblenz, the other from that point almost to the Lake of Constance. Later on, these commands formed the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, but at first they were reckoned as part of Belgica. They were, however, governed by their own

legates, and each of the three legates—that of Belgica, that of Germania Superior,[1] and that of Germania Inferior—was quite independent in his own district during peace. In case of disturbance or revolt in Belgica, the legate of which had no sufficient military force under his command, the legates of Germania Superior and Inferior would march into his district and put it down. As the Germanies were not provinces, but in strictness only part of Belgica, this could be done without having the air of encroachment by one province upon another.[2] But in general Belgica went its way, and the two frontier-districts went their way, without much mutual influence or contact. The multitudes of soldiers and officials on the Rhine, with their dependents, contractors and hangers-on of all kinds, built up a brilliant civilisation of purely Roman type. Belgica was less effectually Romanised than the two Germanies, a fact only obscured by the later German invasions which obliterated the Roman civilisation on the Rhine, while even after those invasions Belgica was in constant contact with Roman influences through central and southern France. Among the Treveri, the chief people of Belgica and the one with which we are best acquainted, the civilisation was not purely Roman. It was an interesting independent civilisation, with large native elements. The ordinary dress among the Treveri is shown by statues and sepulchral monuments to have been not the toga, but the old Gallic cloak or *sagum*. In religion the old deities, particularly the Matronæ, were to a large extent main-

1. "Upper" and "Lower," as applied to provinces, characterised their geographical position in regard to Italy. "Upper" always meant the province nearer to Italy, "Lower" the one further away from it.

[2 The Germanies, however, during the period when the conquest of a substantial portion of the country across the Rhine seemed assured, appear to have been organised as independent provinces. Marquardt *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i. 272–3.]

tained among the Treveri, while the Roman pantheon was naturalised wholesale on the Rhine. The proper names on Treveran monuments, including the curious patronymic recorded on that of Igel, follow Gallic rather than Roman usage, while in Rhenane inscriptions the names are as Roman as in Italy itself. Above all, the sepulchral monuments and the art in general of the Rhine were merely Roman exotics, the work of Italian immigrants, and at once provincial and academic, while the museum at Trèves bears record of the very curious realistic art, not Roman but native, which was practised by the Treveri, and which, though often technically imperfect, is full of character, expressiveness, and even humour.

Gaul was thus enveloped on the south and east by two great streams of Romanism. The southern stream well-nigh submerged Narbonensis; the eastern stream flowed in volume through the valley of the Rhine. Both influenced their neighbours, and the comparatively early Romanisation of Aquitaine is mainly to be ascribed to the example of Narbonensis. But both were isolated from the rest of Gaul as far as administrative separation could isolate them, and from the Roman point of view that was surely a mistake. Instead of cutting off the already Romanised Narbonensis from the rest of Gaul, and giving it to the Senate, Augustus should have made it his object to assimilate and even amalgamate the rest of Gaul with a province so well fitted to be its model. His failure to do so no doubt delayed the process of Romanisation. It was only by slow degrees that the Roman civilisation, language and religion displaced their Gaulish predecessors, and to a large extent they only displaced them by becoming Gallo-Roman rather than Roman. When place-names were current containing a Gaulish termination and a

Roman prefix, like Augustodunum, or Augustobona, or Juliobona, or Augustonemetum, we can conclude, just as we can conclude from Juliopolis in Bithynia and Juliobriga in Spain, or from Indian place-names like Abbotabad and Jacobabad, that the language which supplied the terminations was still the common language of the country. Ulpian (A.D. 220 *circ*) says that trusts may be made out "not only in Latin or Greek, but even in the Gaulish or Punic languages." If we are to believe a passage of St. Jerome, the Galatians of Asia Minor spoke almost the same language as the Treveri in the latter part of the fourth century, and that language could only have been the Gaulish variety of Celtic. On the other hand, Ammianus, who was a contemporary of St. Jerome, speaks of the old differences of language between the Three Gauls as a thing of the past, and it is enormously improbable that the Galatians should have kept their language unchanged for six centuries in Asia Minor. It is very difficult therefore to believe that St. Jerome was speaking of his own experience, whereas if he was merely copying some much earlier writer, the statement is plausible enough.[1] Of Trèves itself, Ausonius, writing about the middle of the fourth century, says:—

Æmula te Latiae decorat facundia linguae

and very little of any language except Latin could have been spoken in the Treveran capital itself after it had been the chief city of Northern Gaul for nearly 300 years, and the residence of Emperors for half a century. On the whole, as far as language only was concerned, the work of Romanisation may be regarded as fully accomplished, with the possible exception of Iberian Aquitaine, by the close of the fourth century. The Gaulish tongue died out.

[1. Jerome however had been both in Trèves and in Galatia, cf. C. I. L. xiii. i. ii., p. 582.]

It was replaced by Latin even in the distant Armorican peninsula, and when the Welsh and Cornish invaders of the sixth century settled down there, they took their language with them. Ancient Breton is identical with ancient Cornish, and there is no trace of that Gaulish admixture which would have been inevitable if the Gaulish tongue had still been spoken in the peninsula when the Britons, themselves fugitives before the Saxon, killed out the Romanised Gauls, and compensated their exile by the creation of that Britannia Minor which keeps the name and speech of the great Celtic island to this day.

Appendix.

The Early Administrative Divisions of Gaul.

(P. 83.)

There seems to be no evidence to show that a tripartite administrative division was carried out immediately after Cæsar's conquest. All Gaul, including the old province, remained united for purposes of administration down to 44 B.C., when Narbonensis was put under Lepidus, Belgica under Hirtius, and the rest of Gaul under Plancus. Soon afterwards, however, its administrative unity was restored, and it was only in 27 B.C. that Narbonensis was cut off from the rest of Gaul. The division of the rest of the country into Lugdunensis, Belgica and Aquitania did not take place till the visit of Augustus to Gaul in 16—13 B.C. It is possible that during this period *Gallia Comata* was the official designation of the district outside the old province (Suet. Tib. 9), and also that for a short period this title was confined to Belgica and Celtica which would thus be separated from the government of Aquitania (Ephemeris Epigraphica vii., p. 446) cf. Desjardins iii., 26 ff. Gardthausen i., ii., 661.

THE ORGANISATION OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER IV

The Organisation of Spain.

After his brief stay of some six months in Gaul, Augustus went on to Spain, arriving at Tarraco in time to celebrate his eighth consulship in that city on the 1st of January B.C. 26. He remained in Spain the whole of that year and the greater part of the year following, nor did Rome see its master again till early in 24. It was an anxious and critical time. The campaign which he had come to prosecute against the Cantabrian and Asturian highlanders proved difficult, harassing and even dangerous; Augustus himself, worn out by fatigue and care, was taken seriously ill at Tarraco; and Horace no doubt faithfully represented the general Roman feeling when in a strain[1] whose lightness of tone only half disguises the sense of relief[2] and even emotion which it conveys, he welcomed the absent prince back to Rome from "wild Iberia."[3]

If we may trust Dio and Horace, Augustus went to Gaul in B.C. 27, with the intention of crossing over into Britain and so completing the work begun by Cæsar even to the uttermost ends of the sea. But when he came to Gaul the confusion left by the intertribal feuds which had followed closely upon Cæsar's conquest obliged him to stay where he was and to begin the indispensable process of re-organisation. Then in the following year, when the

1. Od. iii. 14.

2. Note especially the "male ominatis parcite verbis" in the third stanza.

3. Od. iv. 5.

interrupted design was about to be resumed and the order was about to be given to march on Britain, the simultaneous outbreak of two serious little wars, one with an Alpine tribe (the Salassi) living in the upper valley of the Doria Baltea and so commanding the passage over the Little and the Great St. Bernard, and the other with the Cantabri and Astures in northern Spain, obliged him to look nearer home. Against the Salassi, who had long been a thorn in his side,[1] and whose fondness for blackmailing rendered the passes insecure, he sent Terentius Varro,[2] and after Varro had conquered them and sold every man, woman and child of the unfortunate little people, to the number of 44,000, in the market-place of Eporedia, he planted a Roman colony on the spot where Varro had encamped (Augusta Prætoria, now Aosta), and so secured the communication between Italy and the Rhine on the one hand, Italy and Lyons on the other, once for all. The Spanish war he reserved for himself. It was the second of the only two foreign wars conducted by Augustus in person, the Dalmatian war of B.C. 36 having been the first, and the result was not such as to make him desirous of repeating the experiment.

The Romans had been busy conquering Spain for just two hundred years, and the work was not yet finished. Their armies made their first appearance in Spain during the Second Punic War, in order to cut Hannibal's communications and destroy his base, and once there, they stayed, if only to prevent any repetition of the enterprise which had so nearly ruined Rome. The Carthaginians,

1. They had risen in B.C. 36 and 34. [Dio Cassius xlix., 34 and 38, but both passages may refer to one rising.]

2. Probably identical with the Terentius Varro who died while consul in B.C. 23, and therefore not the famous Licinius Varro Murena, the conspirator of B.C. 22.

and before them the Phoenicians, had done part of the work for their Roman successors. The rich valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), and indeed the whole country southwards to the Mediterranean which was afterwards known as Baetica (Andalusia), had become more Phoenician than Iberian, and the people showed little of the Iberian passion for hard knocks.[1] It was not there, nor on the Eastern coast where not only Phoenicians but Greeks had paved the way and where communication with Italy was kept up by the Roman fleet, that the Romans found any serious difficulty. But even after they were strongly planted in the South and East, they had still to conquer the Centre, the West and the North of the Peninsula, in other words the Celtiberi, the Lusitani, and the highlanders, Cantabrian and Asturian, of the Biscay coast. The fall of Numantia in B.C. 133 marked the conquest of the Celtiberi; the murder of Viriathus, the greatest of all Spanish guerilla-leaders, in B.C. 140, that of the Lusitani. The latter, however, who were still imperfectly subdued, earned a bad name with the Romans as banditti,[2] and some seventy years after the death of Viriathus they formed the nucleus of military strength on which Sertorius based his extraordinary enterprise. After Sertorius' murder in B.C. 72 there is no record of Lusitanian insurrection,[3] and when Augustus made his appearance in the Peninsula it was all pacified with one exception. That exception was the mountain land of the Astures and Cantabri, covering the

1. Livy xxxiv. 17. Omnium Hispanorum maxime imbelles habentur Turdetani.

2. Even as late as B.C. 37, the antiquarian Varro, writing in that year, says (de re rustica, i. 16, 2) :—multos enim agros egregios colere non expedit propter latrocinia vicinorum, ut . . . . . in Hispania prope Lusitaniam.

3. Cæsar's campaign against the inhabitants of the Sierra Estrella (B.C. 60) was a local affair, and moreover he began it.

modern provinces of Asturias and Santander, and showing a wall-like face to the corn-growing plateau on the South. Those fierce highlanders regarded their peaceful neighbours as their natural prey, and the Romans had to bring them to order or to confess themselves unable to protect their own subjects and taxpayers from a remorseless enemy. They accomplished the task more or less successfully after six years' fighting (B.C. 25—19), and so brought to a close the two centuries of conquest which began in the first year of the Second Punic War.

The conquest of Spain thus took twenty times as long as the conquest of the Three Gauls. What is the reason of that extraordinary difference?

The geography of Spain has always been the key to the history and even the character of its inhabitants. Its peninsular form, and its singularly definite frontier on the one side where it is not surrounded by the sea, give the country a superficial appearance of unity. In reality it is broken up into separate sections by a succession of transverse mountain-ranges which are cut by no great river running from north to south. The dip of the country is from east to west, and accordingly the chief rivers rise near the Mediterranean and flow into the Atlantic.[1] "Nature," it has been said by one who knew Spain well,[2] "by thus dislocating the country, seems to have suggested localism and isolation to the inhabitants, who, each in their valleys and districts are walled off from their neighbours." So is explained that powerlessness for combination on a great scale which Strabo absurdly ascribes to the "morose-

1. "Spain," says Réclus, "like peninsular Italy, turns her back upon the east. The plateaus slope down gently towards the west; the principal rivers, the Ebro alone excepted, flow in that direction, and the watershed lies close to the Mediterranean shore."

2. Richard Ford.

ness" of the Iberians, whereas that distrustful temper was itself a mere result of the geographical conditions. "They are bold in little adventures," says Strabo, "but never undertake anything of magnitude, inasmuch as they have never formed any extended power or confederacy. On this account the Romans, having carried the war into Iberia, lost much time by reason of the number of different sovereignties, having to conquer first one, then another, in fact it occupied nearly two centuries, or even longer, before they had subdued the whole." There was no Spanish Vercingetorix to combine the greater part of the country against the Romans, and so to give them a chance of smashing resistance by one downright blow, and they had no choice but to conquer a rough and mountainous country, affording every opportunity for guerilla warfare and putting every obstacle in the way of the commissariat, bit by bit.

In this dislocated, disunited Spain the Iberians formed, not indeed the only, but far the largest portion of the population, and the one which stamped its character on all the rest. What these Iberians were is an old problem as yet unsolved, but perhaps the most probable view is that which connects them with the primitive Berber population which the intrusive Arab element has overlaid, without assimilating, in Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. Whether Spain was originally colonised from Africa, or Africa from Spain, is another question arising out of the first to which no definite answer can be given. But the fact that there was a strong Iberian element in Sardinia, Corsica, the part of Gaul betwene the Rhone and the Pyrenees, and perhaps Sicily, points to a wider diffusion of the race than can readily be understood if we make North Africa the starting point, and the general character of North-African history suggests the conclusion that from the earliest times the

races which inhabited the coast-belt were immigrant rather than autochthonous, and European, as is the geographical character of the coast-belt itself, rather than African.

But, whoever may have been the ancestors of the Iberians, there can be little doubt who are their descendants. The basis of the modern Spanish race is Iberian, as much as the basis of the English race is Teutonic, though in each case there have been large admixtures. That however is by no means all. In the Basques[1] who dwell on both sides of the western Pyrenees, extending as far as Bilbao on the West, we have a remnant of the ancient Iberian stock, which has received no admixture and which in many respects is hardly changed at all. It would be foolish to expect identity between the modern Basque language, which must have changed as rapidly as all languages change that have only a scanty and recent literature, and ancient Iberian; nor can it be denied that the argument from language has been pressed too far, and that the attempt to explain every Iberian place-name from Basque has failed. Still place-names do occur in every part of ancient Spain which can fairly be thus explained, and the resemblance between the Iberian character as described by ancient writers and that of the modern Basques is far too close to be accidental. Like their Iberian ancestors,[2] the Basques are warlike and have a

1. The Basques call themselves Euskara, a name which should be connected with that of the Iberian Ausci (p. 105) in Aquitania. The name by which we know them is of course a mere corruption of Vascones. These Vascones were one of the chief peoples of the Spanish Pyrenees under Rome. How little they were Romanized is shown by the phrase of Prudentius (Peristephanon i. 94) written in the fourth century:—"bruta Vasconum gentilitas."

2. Justin xliv. 2. Bellum quam otium malunt; si extraneus deest domi hostem quærunt. Livy xxviii. 12. Hispania non quam Italia modo, sed quam ulla pars terrarum, bello reparando aptior erat locorum hominumque ingeniis.

peculiar aptitude for the guerilla and for the desperate defence of fortified positions. They are athletic, and, just as Plutarch celebrates the extraordinary quickness of the Iberian light infantry, so the French use the phrase "to run like a Basque," to express the highest degree of endurance and agility. They are the best sailors of modern Spain, and among the best sailors in the world, just as the Iberians were before them.[1] The resemblance descends even to matters of custom and costume, and the fondness for black which distinguishes the Basques and indeed all Spaniards is frequently noted by ancient writers as eminently characteristic of the Iberians.

Lastly, if the Basques do not represent the Iberians, who and what are they? That all the Iberians were Romanised, even in the remotest districts, is unlikely, and the geographical position of the Basques, so similar to that of the Welsh in England, points straight to a similar survival.

Added to, and sometimes incorporated with this Iberian stock, were Celts, Phœnicians, Greeks. The Greeks are chiefly concentrated in the Massaliot colonies of the North-eastern coast, and even these were but a drop in the Iberian ocean. Emporiæ was their chief city, and we know from Strabo and Pliny that Emporiæ had its Iberian as well as its Greek quarter. The common city wall enclosed both, but there was also a wall between the two quarters,[2] and it

1. After speaking of Cape St. Vincent, Avienus (Descriptio Orbis Terræ, 743) goes on :—

". . . . Acer Iberus
Haec freta veloci percurrit saepe faselo."

2. "Venice and the other Italian republics commenced even before the Turkish conquest the practice of establishing commercial factories in the cities of the Levant. Those were separate walled precincts (like those once assigned to the Jews in the European towns), in which the foreign merchants lived with their families, and were governed by magistrates of their own, according to their own laws. They resemble very

was only in course of time that the "two-fold city" came to have a common government, with institutions which were partly Iberian and partly Greek. The Phoenician element was far more widely spread. Agrippa believed that the whole Mediterranean coast of Bætica was peopled by colonists of Phoenician origin, and Gades, Malaca and Abdera were certainly among the settlements of that magnificently adventurous people. Nova Carthago (Cartagena) was of course due to the great Phoenician colony in Africa. From the southern coast these Orientals worked their way inland, chiefly up the valley of the Bætis (Guadalquivir). Here the great Iberian race of the Turdetani was in possession, but these Iberians, already civilized in comparison with their neighbours, and perhaps enervated by their climate and their prosperity, "fell so entirely under the dominion of the Phoenicians that most of the cities in Turdetania and the neighbouring districts are now inhabited by the latter."[1] Tyrians and Carthaginians thus paved the way for the Moors, who many centuries later were to follow in their track and to take up the great enterprise of winning Spain for the Oriental world. But neither Tyrian nor Carthaginian accomplished anything comparable to that accomplished by the Moor. North of the Bætis they left no permanent mark, and even in the sunny land we now call Andalusia, though they formed a large and important part of the population, their

closely the Portugese factory at Macao and the English factory at Canton, only that in the latter, the jealousy of the Chinese never allowed women to be introduced, and consequently prevented the permanent foundation of a settlement from being laid."—G. Cornewall Lewis, Government of Dependencies (written 1841; ed. Lucas, 1891), p. 143. In a note Sir G. Cornewall Lewis refers to the rise of Emporiæ as "probably the earliest example of a factory constituting a part of a town."

1. Strabo, p. 149.

subjection to Rome was still more absolute than had been that of their Iberian predecessors to themselves.

The Celtic element in the population of ancient Spain was far more important and far more widely diffused than the Greek or even the Phoenician. Strabo speaks of a "Celtic invasion" as of a definite historical fact. Herodotus knows of Celts in extreme south-western Spain, and both Strabo and Pliny agree in putting their arrival in Spain after that of the Tyrians and before that of the Carthaginians. One is tempted to connect their appearance in Spain with the great Celtic movement of the fourth century, but the mention of them by Herodotus, along with other reasons, points to an earlier date,—which may be stated as somewhere between 550 and 500 B.C.[1] Entering Spain from Gaul by the western passes of the Pyrenees, just as did the Goths a thousand years later, they found the Iberians in possession, and there was a long period of war between the two races before the final settlement. The great fact about the invasion is that the Celts did not come in sufficient numbers to drive out the Iberians and take all the best places. On the contrary, it is the Celts themselves who, like the Galatians in Asia Minor, are found in the remote and inferior positions, in the South-western and North-western corners of the Peninsula, and in the cold and rugged uplands of Old Castile. There is no trace of them on the Lower Ebro, none on the East coast, where the Iberian fortress of Tarraco blocked the way, and none in the Pyrenees, where the Iberians must have let them through and then closed after them like the waves after a passing ship. The distribution of Celtic place-names in Spain points to the conclusion that their original line of march must have taken the Celts across the Upper Ebro

1. Müllenhof, Deutsche Alterthumskunde i. 108.

and the range beyond it which divides that river from the Upper Douro. Once across that range, they were in the upland region from which most of the great rivers of Spain descend, and their position was analogous to that of the Lingones (Langres) in Gaul, who commanded the upper valleys of the Meuse, Marne, Aube and Seine. The Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana all rose in the region which, from the grafting of these new-comers on the old Iberian stock,[1] was known by the Romans as Celtiberia.[2] Once there, the open river-valleys and the whole lie of the country diverted their advance towards the West rather than the South and towards the Atlantic rather than the Mediterranean. The details of the advance are unknown, and it is very possible that the strong Celtic settlements in Galicia,[3] and even southern Portugal may have been reinforced from Gaul by sea. The slight Celtic element traceable among the Cantabrians and the Asturians (there is a river in the Cantabrian highlands which bore in antiquity, and to this day still bears, the Celtic name of Deva) may also perhaps be thus explained.

1. Lucan iv. 9. . . . profugique a gente vetusta
Gallorum Celtae miscentes nomen Iberis.

2. Some ancient writers use Celtiberia in a very wide and vague sense. Strabo makes Caesaraugusta (Saragossa) Celtiberian, and Plutarch carries the limits of the district so far south as even to include Castulo, one of the chief cities of the Oretani. The word of course lends itself to loose handling and was probably used in different senses at different periods. The sense became constantly narrower; Ptolemy (A.D. 140) recognises no Celtiberians north of the Douro. But all writers are agreed that Celtiberia was purely inland, nowhere reaching to the sea, and Livy, who clearly distinguished them from the Carpetani on the east and the Vaccaei on the West, represents the most instructed Roman view. Their territory included Old and New Castile and the western part of Aragon.

3. The ancient name of Cape Roncudo in Galicia was Promontorium Celticum. The Promontorium Nerium, "around which dwell Celtici" (Strabo p. 153) is now Cape Finisterre.

But, however the Celts got to the Atlantic coast of Spain, there they certainly were when the Romans made themselves masters of the country. Celtiberia was not more Celtic than the parts of Spain lying to the West of it. To judge from the place-names, it was even less so. Of the thirty-eight Spanish towns distinguished by the Celtic termination "briga" (Mérobriga, etc.), no less than twenty-seven fall to the West of Celtiberia, and thirteen of them were on or near the Atlantic itself. East of Celtiberia there was not a single one. If place-names prove anything, Celtiberia itself was far more Iberian than Celtic, and the character of the people, who are called by Florus "robur Hispaniæ," is not, as described by ancient writers, distinguishable from the Iberian character in general.

The general picture, then, of the Spain which the Romans had to deal with shows Iberians everywhere as the radical and the largest element of the population, but with a considerable Celtic admixture in the centre and the west, while Greeks and Phoenicians had settled in the north-east and in the south. Iberians, especially when quickened, as in Celtiberia, with a touch of Celtic fire, were one of the most intractable races known to history, and their very localism and want of unity, while it made their final defeat certain, postponed it almost indefinitely. The Romans were not the last invaders of Spain to find that there was no definite centre to strike at, that the reduction of one district by no means implied the submission of another, and that for a long time the only part of the country of which they were really masters was the ground they stood on.

However, two centuries of perseverance had done their work, and when Augustus entered Spain it was all reduced with the exception of the northern hill country extending

along the Bay of Biscay from Galicia to the Pyrenees. Galicia itself gave no difficulty. Junius Brutus had taught its peoples a serious lesson more than a century before. He did not, it is true, cross the Minho, and, what with the superstitious terror of the river of Oblivion[1] (Limia) to the south of it, and the awe as of one setting foot unbidden upon holy ground, which both he and his men felt at seeing the sun plunge, as they thought, beneath the sea[2] from the coast which was then believed to be the utmost verge of the habitable world, he had great difficulty in advancing even so far as that. But the Galicians had sent a large army to the help of the Lusitanians with whom he was at war, and in a pitched battle he slaughtered 50,000 of them. Brutus did not however reduce or organise their country. That task was reserved for Cæsar, whose first foreign command (B.C. 60) took him to Further Spain, and who, with the help of ships brought up along the Atlantic coast from Gades, penetrated even to the remote Brigantium (Corunna) itself. Those two demonstrations of Roman power were enough, and the Galicians appear to have taken no part in the protracted guerilla-warfare of their eastern neighbours against Augustus and his lieutenants.

The immediate cause of the latter war was the brigandage practised by the Cantabrians on the peaceful peoples to the south of them, and the campaign against these fierce highlanders was undertaken by Augustus himself in person, while Carisius was sent westwards to be in readiness for the coming campaign against the Astures. Augustus'

1. Liv. Epit. 55. Cum fluvium Oblivionem transire nollent, ereptum signifero signum ipse transtulit, et sic ut transgrederentur persuasit.

2. Cf. Juvenal xiv. 279.

Sed longe Calpe relicta
Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem

base of operations was Segisama (Sesamon, neighbourhood of Burgos) in the country of the Turmogi who were one of the peoples raided by the Cantabrians, and his plan of campaign was to penetrate into the mountains with three divisions simultaneously, one commanded by himself, the second by Antistius, probably the son of the man with whom the young Julius Cæsar had served as quæstor in Further Spain, and the third by Furnius, while the fleet co-operated along the coast. The Cantabrians, favoured by the nature of their country, offered a desperate resistance. Supplies had to be brought all the way from Aquitania, and sometimes failed. Augustus himself was not altogether exempt from fatigue and hardship, and an ancient writer has enabled us to catch one glimpse of him on a night march through the Cantabrian mountains in a storm, when the litter in which he was being carried was grazed by lightning and the slave who was lighting the path in front was killed. Fatigue and the anxiety of constant guerilla warfare against an intangible enemy broke down his health, and he had to retire to Tarraco where he fell dangerously ill. Antistius took the chief command in his place,[1] and the triple attack was once more hotly pressed. The enemy appears to have been gradually forced back westwards, and the final resistance was concentrated in a hill-fortress on the Asturian border, near the upper waters of the river Sil, a tributary of the Minho, which the Romans confused with the Minho itself.[2] The place

1. Florus, ii. 33, makes Agrippa take part in this campaign, in which case he must have been summoned hastily from Rome to fill Augustus' place. Dio, however, knows nothing of it, and describes Agrippa as busily occupied at Rome during this very year (liii. 27). It is on the whole probable that Florus has made a confusion between this campaign and a later one, in which Agrippa undoubtedly was commander-in-chief. [See Appendix at end of chapter.]

2. According to Réclus, the Sil is really the main branch. "The Minho has the reputation," says the Spaniards, "but the Sil has the water."

was finally taken, but most of the Cantabrians killed themselves rather than surrender, and the Romans long spoke with respect and almost awe of men who were so brave in battle, so terribly reckless in their extremity, and who, even when prisoners and in the hands of the executioner, chanted songs of triumph and defiance from the cross. The work was, however, done for the time, and the Romans attempted to secure a durable peace by taking hostages from one tribe, selling another into slavery, and forcing another to migrate from the mountains to the plains.

It remained to deal with the Asturians, who, though devoid of the stark ferocity of the Cantabrians, were yet no despicable enemy. Centuries afterwards, their country was the mountain-den from whence the Lion of the Goths first turned upon the Moor, and while the Moor never conquered them, the conquest effected by the Goth and even by the Roman was imperfect and superficial. In the province still called after them Asturias, "the hills gradually rise from the sea-cliffs washed by the waters of the Bay of Biscay, till they tower, at the extreme south of the province, into a mountain range whose highest peaks are snow-capped for almost the whole year and whose southern wall-like declivities face the modern province of Leon."[1] It is quite in accordance with this modern description that Florus speaks of them as descending from "their snowy mountains" against the Romans. Their weakness however was that they were not all mountaineers. Many of them were settled on the plateau to the south, and their chief city was Lancia, between the modern Leon and Astorga. Their defeat, therefore, in a pitched battle on the upper Astura (Esla), when the day was decided by the timely arrival of Carisius, coming up apparently from

1. Crawfurd's "Portugal Old and New," p. 4.

Lusitania, and the capture of Lancia which promptly followed, broke their organised resistance. The campaign could be considered over, particularly with the help of a little loyal make-believe, and Augustus, acting on that theory, dismissed the veterans of the three legions which had borne the burden and heat of the day. Carisius, acting as his lieutenant, settled them in Lusitania on the Anas (Guadiana), where they formed that famous colony of Colonia Augusta Emerita[1] (Merida), which afterwards became the most important place in Roman Spain, and the ruins of which still speak eloquently of its former splendour. Augustus himself left Spain towards the end of B.C. 25, having previously sent orders for the closing of the temple of Janus, and never returned to it. The conquest, however, was not really over, and Augustus had no sooner left Spain than the Cantabrians and Asturians rose against his successor. They were put down with terrible severity, but, notwithstanding, the Asturians were provoked into rebellion by the cruelty of Carisius two years later (B.C. 22), and the Cantabrians, never behindhand when hard knocks were going, followed suit. Furnius, however, who appears at that time to have been governor of Tarraconensis, as Carisius was of Lusitania, conquered the latter and helped Carisius effectually against the Asturians. The Asturians, after failing in a siege[2] and losing a battle, submitted, while the Cantabrians whom Furnius had defeated destroyed themselves rather than follow that example. Finally, in B.C. 19, the Cantabrians made one last desperate

1. Aventicum among the Helvetii (Avenches in Switzerland) was also surnamed Emerita. In both cases the surname of course indicates that the colony was founded with discharged veterans (*emeriti*). There is no ground for Mr. Verrall's fanciful interpretations in his *Studies in Horace*.

2. Probably an effort to recapture their capital Lancia.

effort, which it needed no less a person than Agrippa to stamp out. He had great trouble with his soldiers, who were weary of continual fighting and even downright afraid of the terrible Cantabrians, and suffered several defeats. Agrippa not only degraded many of his soldiers, but inflicted a stigma on a whole legion (the Tenth Gemina, which had taken a prominent part in the Spanish wars of the last six years), by depriving it of its surname "Augusta," and his uncompromising discipline finally had its natural effect. He broke the Cantabrians to pieces, and, imitating the policy which Augustus had pursued in Lusitania, forced the survivors to leave their mountains and settle in the plains. That was the end of the Spanish wars, but for nearly a century three legions remained quartered in this part of the country, two at the city which still bears the name of Leon,[1] and one at the place now known as Retortillo, near Reinosa in the Cantabrian highlands, between Burgos and Santander. These legions made Spain a noteworthy exception to the rule that the imperial troops were stationed only on the frontier, and show how slowly and with what difficulty the mountain zone of Northern Spain was won, not merely to the Roman civilisation—that object was indeed never more than imperfectly attained—but even to the Roman peace.[2]

After the Cantabrians had been subdued, as the Roman poet has it, "by the valour of Agrippa,"[3] the work of reorganisation, already begun by Augustus, was rapidly carried on. The year B.C. 15, when Augustus planted colonies, not only in Gaul where he was staying at the

1. A corruption, of course, of Legio, like El Ledjun, in Palestine, and, possibly, Cærleon (Castra Legionis?) in South Wales.

2. See Appendix at end of chapter.

3. Horace Epist. i., xii. 26.

Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit.

time, but also, by means of deputies, in Spain, may perhaps be regarded as the closing date. It is seldom possible to name a definite year for a definite detail of this organisation, but the general course of the development is clear enough.

The indispensable basis of the Roman occupation in Spain, as elsewhere, was a system of military roads centring in colonies, the original military purpose of which was never entirely lost sight of. Most of Augustus' settlements were, as might have been expected, in the north. To him, as their names sufficiently show, are due Cæsaraugusta (Saragossa), Augustobriga in the heart of Celtiberia, Asturica Augusta (Astorga) and Lucus Augusti (Lugo in Galicia). In the south-west there were Emerita Augusta (Merida), and Pax Augusta (Beja). The south-east does not appear to have had an Augustan colony. Valentia and Nova Carthago made that unnecessary. But the road from Gades to Castulo was prolonged to Nova Carthago, and Castulo became the great road-centre in the south-east, as Emerita was in the south-west. The corresponding centres in the north were Cæsaraugusta and Asturica. Milestones of the year B.C. 7 have been found on the roads from Nova Carthago to Castulo and from Cæsaraugusta to Ilerda, and it is certain that Augustus was busy as a road-maker even earlier than that. In particular he carried the Roman road-system into the north-west, to Asturica, Lucus Augusti and Bracara, with the result that the last named city became a flourishing and important centre of Roman civilisation. The road from Tarraco to Cæsaraugusta, and thence on to Pompælo (Pamplona) and the sea near Fontarabia on the one side, and to the neighbourhood of Burgos on the other, was also his work, and can hardly be put later than the Cantabrian wars. It was absolutely essential to an army operating in the Biscay Provinces and

Asturias, with Tarragona for its base, and drawing its food supplies from Aquitaine. The two Pyrenean roads, from Pamplona to Bordeaux and from Saragossa to Oleron, were also no doubt either made or improved at that time—possibly the former, as hitherto the Roman high-road into Spain had been by the pass of La Junquera in the extreme eastern Pyrenees. But a still greater road than any of these debouched in Saragossa, and that was the highway through central Spain from Emerita to Cæsar Augusta by way of Cæsarobriga (Talavera), Toletum (Toledo), Segontia (Siguenza) and Bilbilis (near Calatayud), the birthplace of the poet Martial. Then as now the city which Augustus planted on the middle Ebro was the greatest junction of north-eastern Spain.

A similar, though not quite so important a position was held by Asturica in the north-west. The great northern road, starting from the mouth of the Anas (Guadiana) and passing Hispalis (Seville), Emerita and Salmantica (Salamanca), debouched there. Arrived at Asturica, the traveller could either turn westwards to Lucus Augusti and Bracara or eastwards to Cæsaraugusta by way of Leon.

Emerita gathered up all the roads of the south-west, particularly the three coming from the mouth of the Anas, from Hispalis, and from Corduba,[1] and was also the terminus, or starting point, of the two great roads already mentioned to Cæsaraugusta and Asturica.

All these road-centres were Augustan colonies. Castulo, which was of earlier date, became of importance as a road-centre by the prolongation of Cæsar's road along the Bætis beyond Corduba by way of Castulo to Nova Carthago on the coast. It there joined the most ancient road in Spain,

1. From Hispalis there was connexion southwards with Gades and Malaca; from Corduba, with Malaca.

that along the Eastern coast from Nova Carthago to Tarraco, Emporiæ, and the Pyrenees. The connection thus made between Castulo and Nova Carthago was of great importance as opening out the mining districts of the south-east, and there is the express evidence of milestones[1] to show that this part of the road at all events was not later than Augustus. It may appear surprising that Augustus did not think it worth while to plant some of his veterans in this important place and to give it colonial dignity. Castulo had only the Latin Right. But in this district there was no recently conquered enemy whom it was necessary to watch and bridle, no military communications to be protected, and it was doubtless thought unnecessary to add a new Roman colony to those already existing—some of them for over a hundred years—in the lower valley of the Bætis and on the Eastern coast.

When Augustus went to Gaul in B.C. 27 we are expressly told that he had the census of the people taken, and the historian to whom we owe the knowledge of that fact[2] goes on to say that when Augustus arrived in Spain he "organised that country also." We may conclude with some confidence that one of Augustus' first acts in Spain was to do what he had done in Gaul, and an inscription actually exists in honour of a military tribune who was sent by Augustus, no doubt during his stay at Tarraco, to take the census of the Lusitani. In this way that statistical abstract was formed which was used by the elder Pliny in his account of Spain, just as he used the map and road-book of Agrippa, and which is at the base of his detailed lists of towns and townless communities in the three Spanish provinces, just as the purely geographical material

1. Page 139. C.I.L. II., 4936—4938.

2. Dio Cassius.

accumulated under the direction of Agrippa in Spain as elsewhere was at the base of his description of the coast line, his boundaries and his distances. The first step towards a sound organisation of the provinces was to obtain all possible information about them, and that Augustus' census-takers and Agrippa's surveyors did. Without such information it was impossible to apportion Spain's contribution to the exchequer and the army at once justly and effectually, and yet from the Roman point of view that was the one essential thing. For a long time past the provinces—those "estates of the Roman people" as Cicero calls them—had paid Rome's expenses; with the exemption of Italy from compulsory military service, they had to supply the soldiers to fight Rome's battles, and the double burden had to be very carefully distributed, if it was not to be found intolerable.

It is hard to say which got most out of Spain, the exchequer or the army. Spain was invaluable to both of them.

The military importance, however, of the different parts of Spain varied greatly. Bætica, as an old and civilised province, furnished men to the Prætorian Guard, the legions of the Rhine army, and to some small extent to the legions quartered in Tarraconensis. But the thoroughly unwarlike nature of the province was brought out very clearly by the fewness of its soldiers. Its contribution to the army was an extremely small one, decidedly less important than that of the similar province of Narbonensis. To the auxiliary troops (*auxilia*), that non-citizen army which Augustus had established by the side of the legions of Roman citizens, Bætica did not contribute at all. No senatorial province did. On the other hand, Lusitania and above all Tarraconensis, besides contributing slightly to the Guard and the Legions, furnished solid masses of

auxiliary horse and foot. There were some nine regiments of the former (*alæ*), and at least forty of the latter (*cohortes*),—a total of at least 5,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. The Asturians were strongly represented with three cavalry and six infantry regiments, and indeed the whole north-western corner of Spain seems to have contributed decidedly more than its share.[1] The recruiting was done to a large extent by the old race-units, or *gentes*, of whom there were thirty-four in Tarraconensis. Thus we find Asturian, Cantabrian, Celtiberian cohorts. For some reason, however, the auxiliary troops furnished by the central and south-eastern portions of the province were not so raised. There is no mention of the Carpetani, Oretani, Edetani, Vaccæi, among others, in the Roman army-list, and those races no doubt found their place in the vaguely named *alæ* and *cohortes Hispanorum* which are so close a parallel to the *alæ* and *cohortes Gallorum* of Lugdunensis. The Spanish auxiliaries held an important place in the Illyrian and German armies, but above all in Britain, where at least three regiments of Spanish cavalry and seven of Spanish infantry have left traces of their presence, and in a general way it may be said that they were most liberally employed where there was most fighting to be done.

It is impossible to name the total of Spain's contribution to the exchequer, but is was certainly large, probably, if we include the output of the mines, larger even than that of the proverbially wealthy Gaul itself. Over and above its regular fixed tribute (*Stipendium*), which was raised directly by means of a poll tax (*Tributum capitis*) and a land-tax (*Tributum soli*), there was the customs duty (*Portorium*) of two per cent. (*Quinquagesima*) levied at

[1. See note 2, p 104.]

the frontier on all goods entering or leaving Spain. The whole of Spain formed one circumscription for this tax, and it was not levied again, so far as we know, on the frontiers of the several Spanish provinces. The tax was exceptionally low in Spain, which only paid two, as compared with Gaul's two-and-a-half per cent. (*Quadragesima Galliarum*), and the economic development of the country must have been thereby favoured. The other indirect taxes, the 5 per cent. legacy duty (*Vicesima hereditatium*), the 5 per cent. enfranchisement duty (*Vicesima libertatis*), and the one per cent. on sales by auction (*Centesima rerum venalium*),[1] did not vary from province to province and were the same in Spain as elsewhere. Between them they no doubt furnished a handsome revenue, but they were as nothing compared with the produce of the mines. What Peru was to Spain in the sixteenth century, that Spain itself was to the ancient Mediterranean world. It was the true Eldorado, a land veined with gold, and silver, and copper, and iron, and quicksilver, and cinnabar, and tin. Our century is only beginning to find out the mineral resources of Spain, and it is not so long since the stories told by Greek and Roman writers were regarded as gross exaggerations. But we have learned better of late years. Twenty years ago the total shipment of iron from Bilbao was 300 tons; it is now (1890) 4,000,000 tons a year. The yearly output of copper from the mines of Rio Tinto alone is 1,400,000 tons.[2]

1. Sales by auction appear to have held a far larger place in the life of the Roman world, alike in Italy and the provinces, than they do now, and the yield of this tax must have been considerable.

[2. I have not been able to bring up to date the statistics as to the export from Bilbao, but Dr. W. A. Bone, Lecturer in Metallurgy in

Wherever the mountainous parts of Spain have been properly prospected, large deposits of ores have been discovered or their existence with certainty inferred, and in the vast majority of cases the explorers have found unmistakeable proof of the Romans having been before them. In the time of Polybius the silver mines in the neighbourhood of New Carthage produced 25,000 drachms (say £1,000) a day for the Roman Treasury, and employed 40,000 men. By the time of the Empire those deposits were pretty well worn out, and the fact was one element in the town's decline. Asturia, Galicia, and Lusitania on the other hand yielded under the Empire 20,000 lbs. of gold a year. The whole of the Sierra Morena, from Rio Tinto on the west to Linares, which may be taken as roughly corresponding to the Roman Castulo, on the east, was worked for copper. The quantity got out must have been enormous. The present miners at Rio Tinto are continually breaking in upon Roman workings, and the Roman slag contains a percentage of copper so low as to be the envy of the trained modern metallurgists of the mine. The Roman shafts sunk in solid quartz at Rio Tinto fill the spectator, who remembers that the workers had no dynamite and no powder, with amazement and even horror, and yield a sombre glimpse of a prodigal waste of human labour and human life. Once extracted, the copper, like everything else of value which the Roman world produced, gravitated to Italy. That from the Mons Marianus (the Sierra

the University of Manchester, has kindly furnished me with the following information :—

"In 1903 between seven and eight million tons of iron ore was exported from Spain. In 1899 about 11½ per cent. of the total output in the world of metallic copper was produced in Spain and Portugal, and in the same year the Rio Tinto Company smelted between one-and-a-half and two million tons of ore."]

Morena in the neighbourhood of Cordova) was shipped at Ilipa (near Seville on the Guadalquivir), where there was an imperial agent to look after it, and carried straight to the office of another agent of the same kind at Ostia. In the same way the cinnabar from Sisapo (also in Bætica) was shipped to the Roman port, and manufactured into vermilion in Rome itself, whither the factories had been transferred from the neighbourhood of Ephesus, hitherto the chief source of cinnabar, on the discovery of the Spanish mines.

The great importance of all these facts lies in that State-ownership of mines which under the Empire rapidly became the rule.[1] We can point to imperial mines in Dalmatia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia, Gaul and Britain. In Spain, besides the workings in the two imperial provinces, Rio Tinto and the Mons Marianus, both in Bætica, were under imperial procurators, and the profits were paid into the imperial exchequer. The Senate was not quite excluded from this source of income in its own provinces. The Sisapo mine, for instance, paid into the Treasury, and not into the Emperor's Exchequer. But the usual process of encroachment was not wanting, and while there was of course no senatorial ownership of mines in imperial provinces, imperial ownership in senatorial provinces gradually became the rule. Private ownership by individuals or municipal communities lingered on here and there, but we happen to know that such private rights were largely confiscated by Tiberius, and in other cases bequest or voluntary cession put an end to them. By degrees the most profitable mines and quarries in all the provinces became an imperial monopoly, and furnished a

[1. There were, however, exceptions to this rule. The silver mines of Spain, in Strabo's times, had passed entirely into private ownership. Strabo p. 148.]

revenue which was one of the largest as well as one of the surest sources of imperial income. Towards that revenue Spain very powerfully contributed, and the Spanish share must have been still more important under Augustus and his immediate successors than it was after Britain had begun to supply her lead and tin, and Dacia her gold.

So far, the Peninsula has been looked at as a whole. But the three provinces into which it was divided by Augustus differed widely from one another, and must be considered separately.

Under the Republic there had been only two Spanish provinces—Hither and Further Spain the latter including Bætica and Lusitania, while the former covered all the rest of Spain with the exception of the then unconquered northern coast. The union, however, of the rich, peaceable, Mediterranean province of Bætica with the rugged, warlike, Atlantic Lusitania was unnatural and could not last. The naturalness and even necessity of their separation were indicated by Pompey's three-fold division of the Peninsula so far back as B.C. 49, when he assigned one of his legates with three legions to the Hither province, another with two legions to Bætica, and yet another with the same force to Lusitania. When the Roman world was divided between Augustus and the Senate on the principle that the long-settled and peaceable provinces should go to the latter, while the Emperor took all those where military force was necessary, Bætica and Lusitania could no longer remain united. Each became a separate province, and each was originally drawn upon a larger scale than afterwards. Agrippa extended Bætica to New Carthage, whereas under later Emperors its western frontier touched the sea in the neighbourhood of the modern Almeria, and Lusitania to the Bay of Biscay. Galicia and Asturia were made part

of Lusitania. These arrangements, however, did not last beyond the reign of Augustus, and under Tiberius we find Lusitania ending at the Douro, while Galicia and Asturia were included in the great military province of Tarraconensis. That was natural, as, though no doubt the legate of Lusitania had some small military force, all three of the Spanish legions were quartered in the adjoining province, and any disturbances in Asturia could therefore be most readily and naturally met by moving up troops from the great camp at Leon. But even in the early Empire we find a prefect of Galicia and a prefect of Asturia, an office which points to a largely separate administration of a military kind, and by the beginning of the third century the two together formed a separate province, thus raising the total number of Spanish provinces to four.

During the whole of the period covered by this history,[1] however, there were three Spanish provinces—Bætica, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis. Bætica alone was under the Senate, and it was the most civilised, the most Romanised, the most peaceable and the richest of the three. It had a very large trade, exclusively with Rome and Italy, and over and above its ores, exported corn, wine, oil, dye-stuffs, salt-fish, wool and woollens.[2] A whole fleet of merchantmen of the largest size carried its corn to Ostia and Puteoli. All this implied a good soil and high cultivation, and indeed an ancient writer tells us that Bætica had a special appearance of fertile splendour in which it excelled all other provinces of the Empire. The valley of the Bætis was lined with groves and gardens

[1. For the view, however, that Lusitania was only constituted an independent government after 12 B.C., see Gardthausen II. i. 692–3.]

[2. Woollens, however, were no longer exported in Strabo's time p. 144.]

and studded with cities which followed one another as closely as in the typically rich and populous valley of the Syrian Orontes. Strabo talks of the vast number of Bætican cities—"200, it is said"—and Pliny gives us the actual number as 175. Of these, six were free cities, three federate, nine Roman colonies (including the nearly two-century old settlements of Italica, Carteia, and Corduba), eight Roman and twenty-nine Latin municipalities (*Municipia*). The colony of Corduba and the ex-federate city of Gades (under Augustus a Roman municipality) were the richest and most important. Gades, in particular, could boast of its 500 Roman knights, a number attained nowhere else in the provinces, and even in Italy only equalled by the single city of Patavium. The large tribal units practically disappeared. The names of the Celtici, Bastuli and Turdetani were still employed for geographical purposes, but the territory of each of those great races was parcelled out among a number of self-governing towns, and even among the Celtici who, as dwelling in that comparatively infertile portion of the province which bordered on Lusitania, naturally retained the old ways of life longest and were most refractory to urban civilisation, Pliny enumerates some sixteen cities. The total number was extraordinarily high in proportion to the size of the province. Tarraconensis, which was nearly four times as large, had 179 towns, or nearly the same number, at the same period, while Lusitania had only 45.[1] In Bætica that replacement of the tribe by the city, which was one of the essential objects of Roman

1. "Tota (Lusitania) populorum xlv.," is Pliny's phrase (iv. 117). If some of these *populi* were townless communities (as was almost certainly the case) the contrast between Baetica and Lusitania was of course even greater than would appear from the statement in the text.

policy and never abandoned except for strong and peculiar reasons, was practically complete before Augustus died.

The original and proper home of the Lusitanians, whom Strabo calls "the greatest of the Iberian peoples," was north of the Tagus; but many of them were transplanted by the Romans to the south of that river, and under the Empire Lusitania extended from the Douro to Cape St. Vincent and the mouth of the Guadiana. On the other hand, the Lusitanian peoples north of the Douro came to be called Gallæcians, and Lusitania was cut short on that side, as compared with modern Portugal, while it was enlarged inland by the at first partial and afterwards total inclusion of the great tribe of the Vettones, inhabiting the wide pasture-lands of the modern Estremadura.

Lusitania was the half-way house between Bætica and Tarraconensis. It did not need the presence of legions like Tarraconensis, but neither the numbers nor the wealth of its cities were such as to make any comparison possible with Bætica. There were five Roman colonies, all of them concentrated in the southern portion of the province, and all of them, with one exception, on the southern side of the Tagus. The chief of them was, of course, Emerita, which was the residence of the governor of Lusitania and one of the greatest cities, not merely of Spain, but of the whole Western world. There were also one Roman and three Latin municipalities. There appear to have been no free or federate towns, a fact which is explained by the duration and severity of the war of conquest. No Lusitanian tribe had been so accommodating as the Remi or Ædui in Gaul, and none, therefore, was similarly rewarded. Of the forty-five communities into which Lusitania was divided, nine are thus accounted for. Whether the remaining thirty-six were urban

or tribal communities, or rather how many of each there were, we cannot possibly say; but Pliny's lists point to the general conclusion that there were at least twice as many of the former as of the latter. In the course of the conquest the Romans had themselves degraded many Lusitanian towns to the rank of villages, pulling down their walls and depriving them of their autonomy, but they had aggrandised others, by the incorporation of smaller neighbouring towns and their territory, and when the conquest was once over, the normal Roman preference for the city against the tribe must have had its due effect. It is improbable, however, that the town became the sole self-governing unit in every part of the province, and it is no accident that the one Spanish parallel to that derivation of the modern town-name from the ancient tribal name which is so common in Gaul,[1] and which points directly to the tribe as the original self-governing unit, is provided by the Igæditani (mediæval Igæditania, modern Idanha) of Lusitania.

All the rest of Spain, that is to say, considerably more than half the Peninsula, was comprised in the enormous province of Tarraconensis. For a brief period, as we have seen, the same policy of curtailment was pursued which converted Cæsar's Celtica into Augustus' Lugdunensis (p. 147). It lost its south-eastern corner to Bætica, and Gallæcia and Asturia to Lusitania. But the old boundaries were revived under Tiberius, if not earlier, and under the early Empire Tarraconensis corresponded pretty exactly to the Republican province of Hispania Citerior. It was even larger, as under the Republic the Cantabrian and Asturian highlands were quite unconquered, while the subjection of Gallæcia was little more than nominal. The province

1. See page 88, where the general bearing of this group of facts is pointed out.

was in fact unmanageably large, and though the supreme control remained in one hand, that of the legate of consular rank whose headquarters were at Tarraco, he had three legates under him, each of whom had a great district equal in size and importance to many an ordinary province. One such legate with two legions administered Gallæcia and Asturia; the second with one legion looked after the rest of the northern coast as far as the Pyrenees; while the third was responsible for the inland region extending southward from the two former zones, and including the country of the already civilised and Romanised Celtiberians. The governor himself meanwhile, besides his general responsibility for the whole province, administered justice at Tarraco and New Carthage, and kept under his immediate eye the whole Eastern coast from the Ebro southwards. The province was also subdivided into seven *conventus* or circuits,[1] each with its assize town at which justice was administered to the surrounding district. These towns were New Carthage, Tarraco, Cæsaraugusta, Clunia, Asturica, Lucus Augusti, and Bracara. Sixty-five "peoples" thus went to New Carthage for their law, forty-three to Tarraco, and only eighteen to Lucus. These circuits were artificial administrative divisions, in which the old distinctions of race were ignored or deliberately overridden, so that we find one of the great Spanish *gentes* assigned partly to one circuit and partly to another. The census was sometimes taken by circuits rather than by tribes, and in inscriptions we find a man giving first his town, then his circuit, and last of all his tribe.[2]

In these ways the huge province was broken up into a

1. There were three such conventus in Lusitania, and four in Bætica.

2. *e.g.*, Amocensis Cluniensis ex gente Cantabrorum. [C.I.L. II., 4233.]

number of manageable units. On the other hand, the whole military and administrative power centred in the last resort in the governor, and was used by him in moments of emergency. Galba never would have been Emperor but for the three legions which were at his disposal as governor of Tarraconensis. The governor was thus the great symbol of provincial unity. Another was the Council of the province which held its meetings at Tarraco, and there carried on that worship of Augustus at the altar of Augustus, the example of which had already been set by the degraded Greeks of Asia Minor, but which made its first appearance in the Western world at Tarraco. Later on, Bætica and Lusitania had each its altar and its Council. But those of Tarraco held almost as commanding a position in Spain as those of Lyons in Gaul, and were not less important as a symbol at once of the provincial, as distinguished from national or tribal unity, and of almost abject loyalty to the Emperor and to Rome.

Everything thus combined to give Tarraco the first place in the province, and New Carthage, which under the Republic and even under Cæsar, had been its capital, fell definitely into second place. The silver-mines which constituted the latter city's chief source of wealth were becoming exhausted, and even without that misfortune it was inevitable that the city which was best adapted by its geographical position to be the seat of an African Empire in Spain should not prove equally adapted to be the seat of a Roman one. Tarraco was not only nearer to Italy, and above all to Gaul, than New Carthage, but it was incomparably better suited to be the head-quarters of a governor whose most important business was to keep the peace along the Biscay coast, and the whole of whose military force was concentrated in that northern zone.

In the later Empire Barcino (Barcelona) outpaced Tarraco, and the Roman centre of the province was thus pushed still nearer, as was natural, to the Pyrenees. It was only when Spain became independent that its capital could be transferred to a really central point like Toledo and, afterwards, Madrid. As long as it was a Roman province, the convenience of Rome inevitably fixed the site of its capital high up on its Eastern coast, and all the natural poverty of Tarraco's harbour could not hinder its good fortune.

Tarraco was a Roman colony, and owed its rank to no less a man than Cæsar, after whom it was called Julia Triumphalis. It was the first of twelve Tarraconensian colonies, some of them Julian, and others Augustan foundations, while one, Valentia, was older than either Cæsar or Augustus. There were also thirteen Roman and eighteen Latin municipalities in the province, one federate town, and 135 without special privilege. The total number of towns was thus 179, or only four more than the total of the far smaller but far more advanced province of Bætica. The total number of self-governing communities in Tarraconensis was, however, larger, for its total of 293 such communities included not only the 179 towns, but also 114 which were not towns. What were these last? It is clear from the most cursory examination of the numbers that they were not great races, holding the territory of a modern department, like the Remi or Ædui of Gaul. They were subdivisions of such races. The old races had not yet ceased to exist. Pliny mentions thirty-four of them in Tarraconensis, and the names of the Celtiberi, the Vascones, the Cantabri, the Astures, among others, are as familiar to any reader of Roman history as the great races of Central Gaul. Nor were they altogether passed over in the administration. They sup-

plied soldiers to the army, and whole regiments of auxiliary infantry were called after their names. But they altogether ceased to be self-governing units, and that is the great difference between Roman Spain and Roman Gaul. The extraordinary conservatism with which these great and powerful races were treated in Gaul found no parallel in Spain. Thus the Vaccæi, who would have formed one civitas or self-governing community in Gaul, were split up into eighteen such *civitates*, the Vardulî into fourteen, the Vascones into nine, the Autrigones into ten, and so on. The town system made headway rapidly at the expense of this broken and weakened tribal system. Thus the Icositani were merged in the colony of Ilici, and by the time of Ptolemy the townless communities had fallen from 114 to 27, while the towns had risen from 179 to 248. Whether the conditions were essentially different in the two countries, or whether Cæsar's policy was followed in Gaul, while Augustus was independent of any such precedent in Spain, we do not know, but the difference in the treatment accorded to the great races in the two cases is certainly remarkable, and shows how little attention the Romans paid to external uniformity so long as they obtained the reality of Empire.

The Romans were markedly successful in assimilating Spain. Perhaps in no province taken as a whole was the process of Romanisation carried further. Bætica in particular was another Italy, and held its place not less successfully in literature than in trade. Lucan and the Senecas came from Corduba. But Tarraconensis was not behindhand with two writers of the first order, Martial and Quintilian, both sprung from that Celtiberian region which even in Strabo's day had become Roman in dress, in feeling, and in speech. The first provincial consul, the

first provincial triumphator, and the first provincial Emperor, all came from Spain, and in the case of the consul it is expressly mentioned that he was not of Roman but of native Spanish blood. We happen to possess two inscriptions recording transactions undertaken by one and the same people in Asturia at intervals of nearly two centuries. In the first, dated B.C. 27, the names, for instance Magilo Clouti, Bodecius Burrali, are absolutely barbarous; in the second, dated A.D. 152, such regular Roman names have taken their place as Antonius Arquius, Sempronius Perpetuus Orniacus and Flavius Fronto Zoelas.[1] The masses of Roman troops despatched to the country under the Republic—as many as 150,000 men between 196 and 169 B.C.—contributed to this thorough Romanisation. Many of them married Spanish women and settled down on land, and as early as B.C. 171 the Latin colony of Carteia was founded with 4,000 sons of Roman fathers and Spanish mothers. Trade and mining also brought multitudes of Romans. But all such causes were after all only secondary. Spain became Roman in feeling because Rome gave her great benefits, ridding her of inter-tribal war and brigandage, and developing her material prosperity. There were shadows to the picture, as the Spaniards were destined to find out, but the early Empire was a time of unexampled relief and prosperity after the misgovernment of the Republic and the convulsions of the Civil Wars, and they threw themselves into the new brilliant life that now opened before them with an ardour all their own.

[1. C.I.L. II. 2633.]

Appendix.

The Spanish War of 27–26 B.C.

In the text the account of Florus (ii., 33) is followed, but there is some reason to believe that Florus has compressed the whole series of campaigns which took place between 27 and 19 B.C. into the years 27 and 26, when Augustus himself was in Spain.

1. Florus mentions three generals as operating in Spain in these two years—Antistius, Furnius and Agrippa. Now it is very improbable that Agrippa was in Spain at the time, when he had abundance to do in Rome. He is not mentioned by Orosius (vi. 21) or Dio (liii. 25). Nor does Dio mention Furnius till 22 B.C., when he speaks of him as a new arrival on the scene (liv. 5.).

2. The order in which Florus mentions the generals is remarkable—Antistius, Furnius, Agrippa. One would certainly have expected Agrippa to come first, not last, but if we assume that the order is chronological the arrangement becomes intelligible, Antistius being in command in 27—26, Furnius in 22, and Agrippa in 19 B.C. (cf. Gardthausen ii. 2, 374).

3. I am inclined to think that the siege of the fortress on Mons Medullius should be placed in 22 B.C. The details of the suicide of the Cantabrians by sword, fire and poison (Dio liv. 5) correspond very closely to the account of the close of that siege in Florus.

THE DOMESTIC POLICY OF AUGUSTUS.

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER V.

The Domestic Policy of Augustus.

Returning from Spain to Rome early in B.C. 24, Augustus stayed there till 16, with the exception of the years 22—19, during which he was absent on a tour of inspection and organisation through the Eastern provinces. Many important domestic events fall within this period—Augustus' own dangerous illness, the death of Marcellus, the settlement of the succession, the conspiracy of Murena, Augustus' decision to dissociate the consulship from the Imperial power, his assumption of the responsibility for feeding Rome, his marriage laws, and, generally, his attempt to call back the old Roman and Italian spirit into Rome and Italy. It will be convenient, therefore, to put aside for the present the chief foreign events of the period—such as the already mentioned[1] reduction of the Cantabrians by Agrippa, the dealings with Parthia, the expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia Felix, and that of Petronius into Upper Egypt—and to devote the present chapter to a general survey of Augustus' domestic policy. Such a survey cannot be strictly chronological, and events which either preceded or came after this period of eight years will occasionally be included, never, however, without due warning being given by definite mention of the date. But it will not do to place the survey later. After B.C. 16 what may be called the Germanic period of Augustus' reign begins, and though changes were made

1. *Supra*, pages 134 ff.

from time to time in the administration of Rome and Italy, the chief pre-occupation from that year to the end of his life was the settlement of the Germano-Roman frontier. The eight years before B.C. 16, after the settlement of Gaul and Spain and before the beginning of the long and finally unsuccessful struggle to effect a similar settlement of Germany, were in comparison a breathing space, and during them most of the important steps in Augustus' treatment of the domestic problem were taken, or at least fore-shadowed.

Augustus' own constitutional position was by this time tolerably defined; but it was a position personal to himself, and the great question of the succession was absolutely unsettled. If Augustus had died suddenly at Tarraco, no one can tell what would have happened. Before leaving Spain, however, he began to think seriously of the future, and his young nephew Marcellus, who was in camp with him at the time, was despatched to Rome to be married to his cousin Julia under the high superintendence of no less a person that Agrippa. Julia was Augustus' daughter by his first wife, Scribonia, and his only child. The whole course of events shows that her husband or her son, if she had one, was destined by Augustus to succeed him. This, however, was not true of her first marriage, and that husband was not to be Marcellus

> "Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
> Esse sinent." [1]

Augustus himself, no doubt still enfeebled by his long illness at Tarraco, very nearly succumbed to an attack of (apparently) typhoid fever in the year after his return from Spain, and was only saved by the resources of his

1. Æneid, vi. 869–870.

physician, Antonius Musa, who, discarding the hot fomentations usual in such cases, applied, with complete success, the cold water treatment, which has been rediscovered, but not invented, by the moderns. He was unhappily unsuccessful with the same treatment in the similar case of Marcellus, who sickened shortly afterwards, and the hope of Rome and of Augustus passed away at the age of twenty, after a year of married life with his girl-bride (Julia was married at fifteen), which left no issue. There could be no question as to who should take his place. Already, when Augustus believed himself to be on his death-bed, he had handed his ring, thus silently designating his successor, not to Marcellus, but to Agrippa, and even those who had been wont to regard Marcellus as the heir were also wont to admit that the inheritance would be a perilous one. Augustus got well, but Marcellus did not forget the way in which he had been passed over at the crucial moment, and a silent estrangement grew up between the older and the younger man, which Augustus sought to stop, or at all events to hide, by despatching Agrippa on his famous mission to the East. Marcellus' death put an end to a most difficult and embarrassing state of things, and Agrippa, whom Augustus had raised so high that he was bound either to make him his son-in-law or to put an end to him,[1] returned from the East to marry Julia in B.C. 21. Agrippa was already married to Marcella, sister of the young Marcellus and Augustus' niece, but in Augustus' view Julia went with the succession to the Empire, and Agrippa had no choice but to divorce. In the following

1. Dio (liv. 6) makes Maecenas say to Augustus:—
τηλικοῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστε ἢ γαμβρόν σοι γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι.

year a child, who was called Gaius Cæsar, was born of the marriage; Lucius Cæsar followed in B.C. 17; and both were adopted by Augustus. Agrippa himself obtained the tribunician power, which in the history of the Empire was reserved for the Emperor himself and for the man who was thereby designated his successor,[1] for five years beginning from B.C. 18, and it appeared humanly certain that either he or at all events one of his sons would take Augustus' place and carry on his work. It was a dizzy rise for a member of the modest family of the Vipsanii, and the Roman aristocracy, including, there is reason to think, his own wife herself, never ceased to regard him as an upstart and a parvenu; but never were place and power more strenuously won. Of all the men who have contented themselves with second place, and worked for others rather than themselves, Agrippa must be counted the ablest and the most successful. Without Agrippa, Octavian never would have become Augustus. From the moment when the two young friends and fellow-students left Apollonia to take up the heritage of Cæsar, Agrippa had been the other's right hand. He was the man of all difficult or terrible emergencies, and when he died Augustus had no general except the young Tiberius. He, and he alone, defeated Sextus Pompey by land and sea, won the battle of Actium, reduced Dalmatia, organised the East, broke and subdued the unconquerable Cantabrians, and, if he had lived to conduct the war in Germany, we should probably have heard less of Arminius and nothing at all of Varus. In the region of home policy his place was hardly less important. His ædileship of B.C. 33 marks

1. Vell. Pat. ii. 99. Tib. Nero, duobus consulatibus totidemque triumphis actis, tribuniciæ potestatis consortione aequatus Augusto, civium post unum . . . eminentissimus, etc.

an epoch in the history of Rome, and was the first serious attempt, so often repeated by later Emperors, to win over the Roman people to personal rule by showing them what personal rule could do for the beauty and convenience of the capital. He did similar work a few years later during Augustus' absence in Gaul and Spain, and the splendid buildings which he planned and paid for set an example to the millionaires of Rome which was not wholly fruitless. It is astonishing that a man should do and be so much, and yet never aspire to be more. Agrippa was of the stuff of which some of the best of the later Emperors were made. Why did it never occur to him to play the part of a Vespasian or a Trajan?

The answer is, in the first place, that Augustus had a real ascendency over his mighty instrument. He was incomparably inferior to Agrippa as a general, but he had a finer and subtler intelligence, and the other knew it. Agrippa made himself an instrument and a servant to Augustus' will, and we are expressly told that the service was a hard one.[1] He appears to have been afraid of Augustus, and to have seen from the first that he must use every effort to avoid exciting his master's jealousy, and to leave him, whenever it was possible to do so, the credit of success. In accordance with the line of conduct thus deliberately laid down, Agrippa refused three triumphs—triumphs were for the master only—and thus set a precedent which was of great value to Augustus and to the Empire, and which was not lost. In this way, as also in his steady refusal to report to the Senate when absent on foreign service, he filled up gaps in the Augustan constitution, and established precedents which were as effectual as laws and a good deal less invidious.

1. "Durum servitium Augusti" is the phrase of Pliny.

Above all, Augustus was the nephew of the great Cæsar and his adoptive son, while Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa was a nobody.[1] His humble origin was not an insuperable, but a very serious obstacle to his taking a place in the front rank under the Republican system, and in working for Augustus he worked also for himself. Civil war gave him an opportunity of rising which a man of his origin could hardly have obtained in any other way, and he was devoid of the family traditions which would have made him regard such an opportunity as accursed. The fact in any case remains. He was a tool from the beginning and he remained a tool to the end, though a tool which no one but Augustus could manage,[2] and never was a greater force put more unreservedly at a man's disposal. His busts confirm the story of his life. The face has a character of patient, tranquil concentration, a kind of animal strength and mass, without animal wildness, which remind one that his contemporaries were wont to apply to him an epithet *(torvus)*, more often applied to a bull than to a man. As one studies that lowering bull-front, those enormous brows, "oppressive with the mind," from under which a pair of steady eyes look out upon the work to do, one has the impression of an infinite reserve of force, of a power of toil and endurance almost more than human; and the impression is well founded. Agrippa was one of the master toilers of the world.

Such was the man who at the age of forty-two was married to Julia, in her eighteenth year. During their nine years of married life five children were born to them, Gaius

[1. Of his father nothing was known (Seneca de Ben. iii., 32, 4). In the official lists his grandfather is not mentioned (Gardthausen ii. 736)].

2. Vell. Pat. ii. 79. Parendi, sed uni, scientissimus, aliis sane imperandi cupidus.

and Lucius Cæsar, Julia the younger, Agrippina, so well known as the wife of Germanicus, and the unfortunate Agrippa Postumus, born, as his name indicates, after his father's death. No estrangement between husband and wife is recorded, and certainly there was no public scandal. The misconduct, indeed the depravity, of Julia was notorious, but Agrippa resolutely shut his eyes, and Augustus was naturally the last man to see what was patent to all Rome. He had brought up Julia with great care, and it was his dearest wish that she should be the model of a Roman matron of the old school, simple, modest and austere. Julia, however, was prouder of being the Emperor's daughter than her father was of being Emperor,[1] and made no secret of her opinion that he did not know how to keep a proper distance between his subjects and himself. Augustus would no doubt have replied to such a criticism that there was no question of "subjects" at all, and that he was only first citizen among fellow-citizens; but such subtleties were naturally lost upon women of the Imperial house like Julia, who were not politicians, but who could see facts as they were and who wanted to take advantage of them. Her extravagance and her dress were disliked and reproved by Augustus, but without any permanent effect. Her position had turned her head, and she could neither control herself nor accept the control of others. Augustus as a moral teacher was exemplary, but his practice had not always been equally edifying, and Julia doubtless knew it. Moreover, Augustus must bear some portion of the responsibility for the offences of a daughter whom he had given in marriage three times at his own pleasure

1. Macrobius. Sat. ii. 5. Ille obliviscitur Caesarem se esse; ego memini me Caesaris filiam.

and never at her own. No sooner had Agrippa died than Julia was married to Tiberius, and once more at the price of a divorce, for Tiberius had first to repudiate his wife Vipsania whom he loved. Tiberius, however, proved less complaisant than Agrippa. After five years of married life, which must have filled him with shame and rage and which left a permanent shadow on his character, he went into voluntary exile (B.C. 6), and four years later Augustus knew everything. Julia was banished first to the lonely islet of Pandateria, and afterwards to Rhegium. Her father never saw her again, and when the Roman mob, who loved the brilliant creature despite her infamies, clamoured for her recall, he steadfastly refused, with the bitter prayer that the petitioners might have such women for their daughters and such women for their wives.

Julia's fall did not involve that of her two sons, who had been adopted by Augustus, and of whom the elder was evidently intended by him to take his place. But Lucius, the younger of the two, died only four years afterwards (A.D. 2), and Gaius did not long survive him. He had been sent to Asia to win cheap laurels in Armenia, and had indeed been hailed as imperator by his soldiers on the conclusion of a successful siege. But a slight wound received under the walls of the beleagured city took a serious turn, and he died on his way back to Italy at the age of twenty-three.[1] The loss of the two young men was perhaps a blessing in disguise. They were insolvent and vicious, and neither of them had

[1. Gaius was wounded at the siege of Artigira (see infra pp. 223—4). His death took place at Limyra in Lycia, on his way home on 21st February, A.D. 4 (C.I.L. IX. 5200). The wound was at most a contributory cause of death (*cf.* Dio, lv. 10 ἐπειδὴ μηδ' ἄλλως ὑγιεινὸς ἦν).]

shown any sign of first-rate capacity. But it was a terrible blow to Augustus, all of whose dynastic projects thus crumbled in his hands, and who was thrown back for a successor upon his uncongenial stepson.

In the year 38 B.C. Augustus, then only Octavian and one of the triumvirs, had fallen passionately in love with Livia, the wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, and mother of a four-years-old son, who was afterwards the Emperor Tiberius. The husband, who, like all the Claudii, was an uncompromising aristocrat, had been deeply compromised on the losing side, and there could be no question of his resisting the hint, or command, of the triumvir. He divorced his wife, and Octavian promptly married her, though she was then far advanced in pregnancy, and though her son Drusus was born only three months afterwards. It has been suggested that Drusus was in reality Octavian's son, and it is not impossible. Certain it is that he was of quite a different disposition to his elder brother, who was a genuine Claudius, with all the aristocratic reserve and chilling pride proper to his name, and that he was Augustus' favourite. No children were born in wedlock to Livia and Augustus, and their inner feelings as regarded the succession must therefore have been somewhat different, Livia naturally hoping and working for her sons, while Augustus looked to his daughter Julia to provide him and the Empire with an heir. It has already been shown how Augustus' hopes were disappointed, and Drusus having died in Germany as early as B.C. 9, the disappearance of Gaius and Lucius left Tiberius, already distinguished as general and administrator, master of the field. The success of Livia was so complete and, under the circumstances, so astonishing—for Marcellus, Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius had first to disappear before Tiberius had his chance—

that she has been accused of wholesale poisoning. There is, however, no evidence to support a charge which was made as easily and recklessly in imperial as it was in papal Rome, and it need not be taken seriously. We know that Augustus' absolute confidence in Livia never wavered for fifty-two years of married life, and that surely is enough.

The question of the succession was not the only one opened by Marcellus' death. Taken in connection with Augustus' dangerous illness, it re-opened to some minds the whole question of the Empire. Almost every one of the great nobles who surrounded him had witnessed the Republic, and the fact was not unfrequently brought home to him. Augustus made it his business to win over the representatives of the great Roman families, and was never happier than when he could induce a Piso to take a consulship. "He enrolled his front-rank men from the camp of the enemy" is Seneca's perfectly true description of his proceedings. He needed the nobles to hold the great magistracies, to govern the provinces, and generally to give his authority an appearance of respectability, and he was perfectly willing to sacrifice anything unessential if he could thereby secure that end. The new class of officials, recruited from the Knights and the freedmen, had not yet come into existence, and it was impossible to govern without the ready-made administrators whom the nobility could alone supply. The nobles saw their advantage, and sometimes abused it. One day, while Augustus was speaking in the Senate, a senator called out, "I do not understand"; another, "I should contradict you if I had the word"; and when he showed impatience he was told that "the senators must be free to discuss the business of the State." Murena, while engaged in the defence of a man against whom Augustus

had given evidence (the man had said that Augustus had given him certain orders, and Augustus simply went into the box to deny it), asked him roughly, "What is your business here? Who summoned you?" and Augustus answered calmly, "The interest of the State." Nor were such ebullitions punished. Augustus doubtless saw that they formed a safety valve, and that it was his interest to have a short memory for such things. Real, dangerous conspiracy was quite another matter, and of that, with the exception of the assassination-plot of the younger Lepidus, which was swiftly crushed by Mæcenas while Augustus was still absent at Alexandria, he had as yet had no experience. The conspiracy of Murena and Fannius Coepio in B.C. 22, followed by that of Egnatius Rufus in B.C. 17, was therefore a surprising as well as a serious blow, all the more so because Mæcenas, who had an informal general responsibility for the peace of Rome and Italy, had proved unequal to his trust. He told his wife Terentia that her brother Murena was in peril, and Murena fled. He was caught, tried by the Senate, and both he and Caepio put to death. But the wound inflicted on Augustus' confidence was never healed, and Mæcenas was never again employed in a position of responsibility. He still had his work to do as the semi-official patron of the arts and inspirer of the poets, but graver employment could not be found for a man who did not know when to hold his tongue.[1]

The outbreak of this conspiracy was all the less expected as it very shortly followed Augustus' attempt to set himself right with the nobles by dissociating the consulship from the Imperial power, and so leaving both

1. Desideravit (Augustus) . . . Maecenatis taciturnitatem. Suet. Aug. 66.

annual consulships open to their ambition. The post had still enormous prestige, and led to the best paid and most important foreign commands, so that the change was by no means a slight one. In the year 23 B.C. he renounced the consulship, and when it was offered to him for life next year he declined it. He did not hold the dignity again till B.C. 5, and only then because he wanted to take a census.[1] After B.C. 23 the consulate altogether ceased to be a regular and permanent part of the Imperial power. Its place was taken by the tribunician power, which indeed was no new thing and had been held by Augustus ever since B.C. 36, but which was then made an integral part, not only of his real, but of his titular authority in a way which it had not been before. Henceforth the years of his reign were the years of his tribunician power, and if an inscription in honour of Augustus records that his tribunician power was for the sixth, or ninth, or sixteenth time, as the case may be, it dates itself. It means the sixth, or ninth, or sixteenth year since B.C. 23. We are not able to define more precisely the change in the tribunician power which then took place, and it is of no use guessing. We have to be content with the fact that the tribunician power became, as Tacitus says, the "expression of the supreme authority," [2] and that its very indefiniteness, as well as its unpretentiousness and the ease with which it linked on to the democratic and Republican tradition, made it extremely well suited for that purpose.

No one can overlook the clearly-marked date in the

[1. Rather for the purpose of conducting the ceremony of bestowing the *toga virilis* on his grandsons Gaius and Lucius, *cf.* Suet. Aug. 26 ut Gaium et Lucium filios amplissimo præditus magistratu suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum.]

2. Summi fastigii vocabulum. Ann. iii. 56.

development of the Empire which is supplied by Augustus' renunciation of the consulship. But of really greater moment is the obscure process by which the authority of the old Republican censorship, and to some extent also of the ædileship, was parcelled out among a number of Imperial commissions *(curæ)* and commissioners *(curatores)*, and the beginnings of that process date from the same period. The general result was to put the administration of Rome itself, and to a certain extent of Italy also, into the Emperor's hands and to take it out of the hands of the elective magistracies which had survived the fall of the Republic. The first of these commissions was that of the corn-supply *(cura annonæ)*. In the year B.C. 22 the troubles in Rome, which were brought about by scarcity, led to the tumultuous popular offer to Augustus of the dictatorship and of the general supervision of the corn-supply. Augustus emphatically refused the former, and took the latter. There was indeed no choice. Rome lived mainly on foreign corn under market price, and the natural course of trade, therefore, could not feed it. As lord and owner of Egypt, the Emperor was its natural feeder, and he had no choice but to undertake the work. Egypt fed Rome for four months of the year, the province of Africa for the remaining eight, and outlying provinces like Moesia were also occasionally drawn upon. Over and above the ordinary consumer, there were 200,000 Roman householders who received the corn absolutely gratis.[1] Augustus had at one time

[1. The recipients needed no such qualification as is implied in the word "householders." They were selected from the poorer citizens, apparently by lot. But the details of the institution are very obscure, and it is not even certain that the distributions were gratuitous. The *panis aedificiorum* was a much later institution which is not known until the fourth century A.D.]

thought of putting an end to this fatal system of corn-largesses, but the risk was too great—it was the nemesis of his usurped authority that he had no choice but to keep the Roman mob in good humour—and he had to content himself with fixing their number permanently at 200,000. The supervision of the gigantic supplies necessary for the smooth and regular feeding of the vast city that Rome had now become was, of course, quite beyond the capacity of mere municipal magistrates like the Roman ædiles. Augustus' commissioners, originally two in number, were at first appointed by the Senate, and were of prætorian rank. But some time in the last six years of his life there came a change, and these commissioners, who were senators and quasi-magistrates, were replaced by a prefect of the corn-supply *(præfectus annonæ)*, who was only of equestrian rank, appointed for as long as the Emperor pleased, and dismissible at his good pleasure.

The superintendence of the Italian high-roads, all of which were, of course, drawn from Rome as a centre, and of the aqueducts which supplied Rome with water, had been the function of the censors. Both tasks were transferred to Augustus, the former in B.C. 20, the latter in B.C. 11, and were discharged by senatorial commissioners whom he appointed. Each great road employed one commissioner, and the post was thought sufficiently important to be held by men of the first distinction between one provincial governorship and another.

We know for certain of one of these commissions, and it may safely be assumed with regard to all of them, that they were conferred on Augustus in due course of law. The case is different with his institution of the fire brigade *(vigiles)* and the constabulary *(cohortes urbanæ)*. In the year B.C. 22 Augustus tried to keep the old sys-

tem of fire-extinction on its legs by putting 600 firemen at the disposition of the ædiles. But repeated fires on a large scale showed that these municipal magistrates of old Rome were unequal to the new conditions, and in the year A.D. 6 Augustus established seven cohorts of Vigiles, each consisting of about 1,000 freedmen, and each responsible for two of the fourteen regions into which Rome was, probably at the same time, divided, under the general command of a prefect of equestrian rank. This was a flagrant and obvious usurpation of the Senate's powers, and Augustus accordingly declared that it was merely provisional. It became, however, permanent, and was no doubt intended to be so from the first. Still more important was the institution of the Prefect of the City and the three urban cohorts—in other words, the establishment of a military police whose barracks were in the very heart of Rome, and which, therefore, constituted one of the most serious and deeply-felt innovations of the Empire. There is good reason for thinking that this innovation, too, goes back to Augustus. The urban cohorts certainly existed under him, and if there were urban cohorts there must have been an urban prefect. With a mob of the size and unruliness of that of Rome it is out of the question that the Empire should have done without a chief commissioner of police for the first fifty years of its existence, and that chief commissioner must have been a standing, permanent official, not merely one appointed to be the Emperor's deputy when the Emperor absented himself from Rome. It is too absurd to suppose that Augustus managed the urban cohorts himself and that, in addition to the enormous burden of work which was already laid upon him, he was his own chief commissioner of police into the bargain. But the idea of such a permanent

deputy was altogether alien from the Republican system, according to which the large powers given to individual magistrates were in the strictest sense not transferable.[1]

The way in which Augustus grasped and controlled the city from a number of different sides at once, and made himself essential to its health, its security, and even to its very existence, has now been shown. A brief survey of what he did for its convenience and its beauty will complete the picture.

Augustus is said to have boasted that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble,[2] and the boast was not unfounded. In the record of his life, or of what he most wished to be remembered in it, which he bequeathed to the world in the Monumentum Ancyranum, Augustus has given a list of the edifices which he either built or restored in Rome. They include the Senate-house, the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the Temple of Mars Ultor, the Forum Augustum, the theatre of Marcellus, over and above many new buildings of lesser note and the eighty-two temples which he restored. To the Temple of Apollo was annexed a library of Greek and Latin authors as well as the Imperial residence, which was characteristically simple and unadorned, and the whole group of buildings, filled as they were with the noblest works of art and enriched with the rarest marbles in prodigal profusion, must have been extraordinarily fine. The Forum Augustum, whose gigantic circuit-wall still exists

[1. There is no evidence that there was a permanent *praefectus urbi* under Augustus—such an official only existed during his absence. The constitutional innovation consisted in his appointing such a magistrate when the old republican magistracies were still in the city and making him the deputy not of all the higher magistrates but merely of himself (*cf.* Mommsen *Staatsrecht* ii. 1059 ff)].

2. Urbem . . . excoluit adeo ut jure sit gloriatus marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset. Suet. Aug. 28.

to amaze the modern tourist, was the first of the many Imperial *fora* that were built to ease the pressure on the original Forum Romanum. Julius Cæsar had set the example with his Forum Julium, but he did not live to complete it, and both it and the Basilica Julia were in the end almost as much Augustus' work as they were his adoptive father's. Agrippa did only less, if less, than Augustus himself. To him were due the Septa Julia, built on the Campus Martius, the great open space hitherto sacred from the invasion of the builder, the Thermæ, or warm baths, which were the first of their kind in Rome, the Pantheon, and the Pons Agrippæ across the Tiber, besides fountains and basins of large size and in almost countless numbers, into which the six great aqueducts, almost every one of which was constructed or restored by himself or Augustus, poured a never-ending supply of pure and living water. "The Pantheon" (erected by Agrippa during Augustus' absence on the Cantabrian campaign), "with its great portico and magnificent cupola lighted only from the top, is even now, though stripped of the greater part of its marble linings, one of the most stately buildings in the world."[1] The Theatre of Balbus showed that the example deliberately set by Agrippa was not lost upon other private persons, and the total result of the building operations of the reign was to make Rome an unsurpassably splendid and convenient city.[2] Such a policy was

1. Middleton's Ancient Rome, 2nd edition, p. 338.

[2. The author himself expresses some doubt of this in a rough note, and refers to an article by Lanciani on *Skyscrapers in Ancient Rome*, in the *North American Review* for June 1896, who assigns the credit of a reform in this direction to Nero. But even after Nero the physical conditions of Rome would have made residence in it intolerable to a modern. For an interesting picture of its discomforts and unhealthiness one may consult Pöhlmann's *Die Uebervölkerung der antiken Grosstädte*. The complaints of Horace, Martial and Juvenal are well known.]

naturally popular with its citizens, who remembered the Republican city as mean and meagre in comparison, and the enormous amount of employment which it must have provided, and the money which it must have put in circulation, gave at least the appearance of prosperity.

The splendour of this material civilisation might have blinded many to the worm of corruption at its root, but it did not blind Augustus. He did more than any man to make Rome a city of pleasure, but the necessities of his position left him no choice, and he had no idea of resting content with so dubious an achievement. His deepest ambition was to do two things both equally impossible—to reconstitute the Roman family and the Roman character. With these two objects in view he set himself to react against the cosmopolitan tendencies of his time; he was sparing of the franchise; he was exclusively Roman in religion, and took his religious functions (as *pontifex maximus* in particular) quite as seriously as he did his political ones; finally, without possessing the old Roman family virtues himself, he was intensely and sincerely desirous that his subjects should possess them. But it was difficult to restore the family virtues when the family itself was in danger of extinction, and the first thing to be done was, if possible, to fight against the increase of celibacy. Augustus' Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus of B.C. 18[1] was directed to this end, as was also the Lex Julia et Papia Poppæa (which indeed was in substance a mere repitition of the earlier law) of A.D. 9. The purport of these laws was to impose great disabilities upon bachelors, and equally great privileges upon married men with children. The former could not inherit property from any but their

1. The Lex Julia de Adulteriis of the same year imposed severe penalties upon adultery.

nearest relatives, and the latter were favoured in every possible way, from the abridgement of the intervals between successive offices to complete immunity from taxation. Such legislation was not new to Rome, where indeed the discouragement of bachelorhood was one of the recognised duties of the censor under the Republic, and it has either existed or been advocated in every country where the population is stationary or retrogressive. There is, however, no known case of its success, and Rome was no exception to the rule.

It seemed to be Augustus' fate to be perpetually undoing with one hand what he did with the other. He did his best to make the Roman people ultra-Roman in religion, and at the same time so developed communication between Rome and the East by clearing the Mediterranean of its pirates that the foreign religions had their way cleared from Egypt and Syria to Rome, and

"Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes."

He set the poets to preach the joys of the country, the dignity of the farmer's life, and Virgil's "Georgics" are a pamphlet against great estates. At the same time he so expanded and organised the importation of foreign corn, much of which came as tribute and was therefore not paid for at all, that the small Italian farmer could not live. He longed to see the country peopled, and planted no less than twenty-eight military colonies over Italy with that object.[1] These ex-soldiers seldom turned out to be good and steady citizens, and many of them fell away. Even apart, however, from their short-comings, the essential thing was that Augustus had made Rome so incom-

[1. His object was rather to keep his veterans quiet, and their settlement was often enough accompanied by the eviction of the old farmers.]

parably more attractive to a poor man than any other ancient city that every second man in Italy was burning to get there. To live in Rome and to have one's name on the free corn list [1] must have been the dream of at least half the Italian population.

1. Even before Augustus had done so much to increase the beauty and convenience of Rome, the corn-largesses sufficed to create a terrible drain of population from the country citywards. Sallust, Cat. 37. juventus quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. Appian. Bell. Civ. ii. 120. *τό τε σιτηρέσιον, τοῖς πένησι χορηγούμενον ἐν μόνῃ Ῥώμῃ, τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πτωχεύοντα καὶ ταχυεργὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας λέων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπάγεται.*

ARABIA, EGYPT AND GREECE.

CHAPTER VI.

Arabia, Egypt and Greece.

Between the settlement of Gaul and Spain and the beginning of what may be called the German period of Augustus' life comes the reorganisation of the Eastern provinces. Of course there was overlapping, and the Armenian problem in particular was with Augustus to the very end of his life; but the years between 24 and 13 B.C. saw both Augustus himself and Agrippa in the East, and for that period the foreign policy of Rome was above all its Eastern policy. For those years at least the thoughts of the Romans were fixed rather on the Nile, and still more the Euphrates, than the Rhine.

Even while Augustus was still in Spain the East had forced itself upon his thoughts and cares. The first Indian embassy of his reign sought him at Tarraco; so did an envoy claiming help for the earthquake-shattered Tralles in Asia Minor;[1] and it was from Tarraco that he ordered the annexation of Galatia and Lycaonia. The fact is that the reorganisation of the East, which had been taken in hand by Augustus after Actium, was far from finished, and, in particular, some definite decision as to the way in which Parthia was to be dealt with could no longer be postponed. Death had surprised Cæsar in the midst of

[1. Not necessarily in Tarraco. Augustus' liberality to Tralles is also mentioned by Strabo, p. 579, but the only mention of the place where the embassy from the afflicted city petitioned Augustus for aid, seems to be in an epigram of Agathias, 2, 17, who speaks of Chaeremon coming to the Cantabrian land, and even if this is more than a vague reference to Spain, it is certainly not an allusion to Tarraco.]

gigantic and hardly sane plans for Parthian conquest. If Plutarch is to be trusted, his scheme was to reduce Parthia with the sixteen legions he had detailed for that campaign, and then to return to Gaul and Italy by way of the Caucasus, Southern Russia, and Germany, conquering the Germans on the way. Nothing had been done to carry out that scheme during the twenty years and more since Cæsar's death, but neither had peace been made with Parthia, and, strictly speaking, the two Empires were at war. That was one problem, and perhaps the largest, offered by the East, but there were innumerable others, and Augustus was bound to go eastwards himself or to send Agrippa at the earliest opportunity. Agrippa did go there, as has been shown,[1] in the year B.C. 23, and, according to Josephus, discharged a ten-year mission. Josephus' phrase is true in the sense that Agrippa did not finally come back till B.C. 13, but the mission was by no means continuous. From 21 to 17 B.C. he was in Italy, Gaul and Spain (where he finished the Cantabrian war), and during two years of that time Augustus was in the East instead of him. They relieved each other almost like soldiers on guard, and in the absence of Augustus, Agrippa was, for that particular time and that particular part of the world, as good as Emperor. Agrippa was not the mere legate of Augustus, but appointed legates himself in Syria. He appears to have held that proconsular power which was the very kernel of the Imperial authority; he interfered at pleasure, not merely in Imperial but even in Senatorial provinces like Asia and Cyrene; and he was in fact a temporary vice-Emperor for the Roman world east of the Adriatic.[2]

1. *Supra*, p. 163.

2. "Τοῦ πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος καίσαρι" is the phrase of Josephus Antiq. xv. 10. "Sub specie ministeriorum principalium" is that of Velleius, ii. 93.

The Eastern period which opens with the beginning of Agrippa's mission in B.C. 23, was one of organisation, not of conquest, and thenceforth Augustus showed himself the enemy of new annexations or far-reaching enterprises of any kind. But it had not always been so with him. His annexation of Egypt after Actium was a very serious piece of business, carried out with uncompromising decision, and even so recently as B.C. 25 a Roman expedition had been dispatched from Egypt to Arabia, and had almost reached the southern coast of the peninsula. That sensational venture was well calculated to appeal to the imagination of stay-at-home Romans, and, lest it should not suffice,[1] it was almost immediately followed by an expedition up the Nile valley into Ethiopia.

There was a great demand at Rome for military prestige in connection with the new Imperial system—for the interest and excitement, possibly even for the prize-money, of successful war. The most popular thing that Augustus could have done would have been a great attack on Parthia. Augustus, however, was not thus to be led away, and preferred to satisfy the demand at less risk and cost. The Indian embassies, with their implied recognition of Augustus as King of Kings, came at the opportune moment, and the poets were quick to make the most of them. "India," said Propertius, "bows her neck beneath thy triumph"; and Virgil hailed the day when "Augustus Cæsar" would extend his empire over the Garamantes and the Indians. In the same strain Propertius told Augustus that unconquered Arabia trembled before him,[2] and that hyperbole was indeed more nearly realised than were the

[1. The Ethiopians, however, were clearly the aggressors in the war, which does not seem to have been brought on for political ends by Augustus, cf. Strabo p. 820, and page 191 *infra*.]

2. Propert. iii. 1, 16. Et domus intactae te tremit Arabiae.

others. An attack upon Arabia suited Augustus very well. The Romans, who were bad geographers, regarded the country as a fertile Eldorado, full of spices and frankincense and of the money which the West had sent in payment for those treasures. Horace's

> Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides
> Gazis

accurately represents one of the chief motives of the expedition, while the country was at the same time remote and mysterious enough to make the expedition attractive to the Roman quidnuncs. Augustus' personal motive was partly that of Iccius—the Treasury was none too full—while he also probably cherished the hope of adding to the commercial importance of his beloved Egypt by converting the Indian trade, whose half-way house and emporium had hitherto been in southern Arabia, into a direct trade between the Bombay coast and Alexandria by way of Myos Hormos and the Nile. An expedition conducted from Egypt as the Arabian expedition was bound to be, had moreover the advantage, from Augustus' point of view, that its commander was naturally and necessarily a man of merely equestrian rank,[1] and that therefore his success could give no ground for jealousy or alarm, while his failure in what was after all a merely minor campaign would be a very different matter from the failure of a Parthian campaign conducted by Augustus himself, at the head of some sixteen legions.[2]

1. Compare p. 70 for the exclusion of senators from Egypt.

2. Cæsar had meant to attack Parthia with an army of that size, taking six legions with him from Italy, and adding the three then stationed in Bithynia-Pontus, the three Syrian, and the four Egyptian legions.

Ælius Gallus, the governor of Egypt [1] at the time the Arabian expedition was decided upon, took with him to Arabia one of the legions that formed the garrison of Egypt, with of course its complement of auxiliaries, and with the further reinforcement of 500 men sent by Herod of Judea and 1,000 supplied by the King of the Nabataeans (Petra), whose prime minister, one Syllaeus, accompanied the expedition. He started from Arsinoe (Suez) and landed at Leuke Kome (probably Haura) on the Arabian coast, his goal being the land of the incense-bearing Sabeans," in other words, the south-western corner of Yemen. "My army," writes Augustus, "penetrated into Arabia as far as the land of the Sabeans and the town called Mariba," and he may be excused for laying a certain emphasis upon the exploit, as Mariba was the southernmost point ever reached by a Roman army at any period of Roman history. It seems strange that Gallus did not start from a point much further south, say, Myos Hormos (Kosseir) or Berenice, and land at a point on the Arabian coast far nearer Mariba. He would thus have avoided the terrible land march along the inhospitable coast of west Arabia, which nearly destroyed his army. But everything is strange in this extraordinary expedition, which to moderns familiar with Soudan expeditions and all that they imply must appear one of the most foolhardy and even senseless enterprises ever undertaken. The explanation is that the ancients had far less facilities than we have for learning something of new countries. Armies had to do the work of exploration which in our time is

1. This has been doubted without reason. Dio, liii. 29 expressly asserts it, while Pliny, N.H. vi. 160, says that he was "ex equestri ordine"—which was what all governors of Egypt had to be.

done by individual travellers,[1] and the result was that armies were not unfrequently led into impracticable situations even by generals who knew their business. Even Alexander lost the best part of his army in the course of two months in Beloochistan, and Lucullus and Antony in their Armenian campaigns erred quite as grievously as Gallus.

The expedition took six months to get from Leuke Kome to Mariba, suffering terribly from drought and scurvy on the way, and returned by the same route in two months, after a brief but ineffectual siege of the Sabean capital. If Augustus looked for conquest and booty, the expedition was a total failure. If the object was exploration and the diversion of the Eastern trade to the advantage of Egypt, it was a qualified success. It had at all events a negative result. It showed that the Arabian peninsula was not worth annexing. But it was worth Augustus' while to make some sacrifices in order to improve his knowledge of his beloved Egypt's neighbours, and still more in order to make Egypt the emporium of the Eastern trade. We may regard Ælius Gallus as continuing the work of the Ptolemies, who had done their best to develop communication between Egypt and India and so to get the Indian trade for Egypt, while the Seleucid kings tried to divert it overland to Antioch by way of the Euphrates. The Seleucids got the better of the struggle, and when the Romans became masters of Egypt the Euphrates route was in possession. Under them the route through Egypt was so fostered as to hold the first place for two centuries and more, but in the third century

1. For the utility of Greek and Roman military expeditions—particularly those of Alexander, with their genuine scientific equipment—from the geographer's point of view, see an interesting passage in Dubois' "Examen de la géographie de Strabon," p. 151.

the Euphrates route resumed its old pre-eminence, and Palmyra, "central in the desert," became thereby another Alexandria.

At the time of Ælius Gallus' expedition the Arabian city of Eudaemon (Aden) was the emporium between the West and the Far East. But—perhaps in connection with young Gaius Cæsar's Armenian expedition, which was to wind up with Arabia,[1] some twenty-six years after Gallus' preliminary reconnaissance—Aden was destroyed by order of a Roman Emperor. We are not told who that Emperor was,[2] but it was probably Augustus, who thought no effort too much to promote the prosperity and security of Egypt, and if we may ascribe to the same reign the discovery of the south-west monsoon, in other words, of the short sea passage from the Red Sea to India, by the pilot Hippalus,[3]

1. Pliny. N. H., v. 141. Ituro ad Armeniam ad Parthicas Arabicasque res majore filio.

2. Periplus Maris Erythraei, 26. Εὐδαίμων δ' ἐπεκλήθη, πρότερον οὖσα πόλις ὅτε, μήπω ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐρχομένων μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τολμώντων εἰς τοὺς ἔσω τόπους διαίρειν ἀλλ' ἄχρι ταύτης παραγινομένων, τοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέρων φόρτους ἀπεδέχετο, ὥσπερ Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φερομένων ἀποδέχεται. Νῦν δὲ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων Καῖσαρ αὐτὴν κατεστρέψατο.

3. Probably an Alexandrian. The old route had been a coasting voyage, that is, ships followed the South Arabian coast, then up the west coast and down the east coast of the Persian gulf—a curious way of reaching India, but the only one. *Cf.* Periplus Maris Erythraei, 57. τοῦτον δὲ ὅλον τὸν εἰρημένον περίπλουν ἀπὸ Κανὴς καὶ τῆς Εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας οἱ μὲν πρότεροι μικροτέροις πλοίοις περικολπίζοντες ἔπλεον, πρῶτος δὲ Ἵππαλος κυβερνήτης, κατανόησας τὴν θέσιν τῶν ἐμπορίων καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸν διὰ πελάγους ἐξεῦρε πλοῦν.

[Hippalus, however, is placed by Mommsen (Provinces ii. 299) under Nero; by others before the Christian era (cf. Bunbury *History of Ancient Geography* ii. 351–2), E. J. Payne (*History of the New World* i. p. 32), denies his historical existence and thinks that Hippalus is probably a translation of the Phœnician name for the South-west Monsoon).]

the commercial rise of the Egyptian Red Sea ports[1] and Alexandria, and the decay of the Arabian emporia and ports of call, are easily accounted for. If the destroyer of Aden left the work unfinished, Hippalus must have completed it, and a statue of her intrepid seafarer should be erected by Egypt on Cape Guardafui, looking towards India, as the Columbus or Vasco da Gama of antiquity.

Another exploring expedition, also in the interest of Egypt, followed very quickly upon that of Ælius Gallus. The Romans had taken over the frontiers of Egypt, as the Ptolemies left them, and their southernmost post on the Nile was Syene (Assouan). The garrison of Egypt consisted under Augustus of three legions (reduced later to two, and before the second century was far advanced, to one), nine cohorts of auxiliary foot, and three cohorts of auxiliary cavalry. The greater part of this force seems to have been kept at or near Alexandria, which has always been famous for its unruly and dangerous mob, and three cohorts, or perhaps 1,200 men,[2] were thought a strong enough garrison for Assouan. In ordinary times it was enough, with the help of the troops which could be called up rapidly from Middle and Lower Egypt. But Gallus had drawn off a good part of the Egyptian army for his

1. Even before the end of Ælius Gallus' governorship there was a great increase in the traffic of these ports. "I was with Gallus," says Strabo, (p. 118) "at the time he was prefect of Egypt and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontier of Ethiopia, and found that about 120 ships sail from Myos Hormos to India, although in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies." From Myos Hormos (or Berenice, the more southern port which later on appears to have taken the place of Myos Hormos) to Koptos on the Nile was a twelve days' journey with camels. Another twelve days covered the distance by water between Koptos and Alexandria. Strabo calls Alexandria τὸ μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης.

2. "Three cohorts, and these not complete," is the phrase of Strabo. The normal auxiliary cohort consisted of 500 men.

Arabian expedition, and the Ethiopians, or as we should call them, the Soudanese, seized the opportunity for an inroad and took Assouan. This must have been in B.C. 24. Gallus was succeeded in the governorship of Egypt by Petronius, and the latter at once set about punishing the Ethiopians for their audacity. He took a force of 10,000 men, partly by land and partly by water, up the Nile valley to the Ethiopian capital, Napata (Merawee), captured the place, razed it, and returned to Egypt after leaving a garrison at Premnis.[1] The garrison was attacked in force by the Ethiopians, but relieved by Petronius, who must have had a talent for great marches,[2] and who appeared in time. The Ethiopians asked for peace, and their envoys were sent to Augustus at Samos, where they found him (B.C. 20) in a conciliatory humour. He conceded all they asked, including no doubt the withdrawal of the garrison from Premnis, and the frontier was once more fixed at Assouan.

The general resemblance between the Arabian and Ethiopian expeditions and their near coincidence in time naturally suggest that they formed part of a comprehensive policy, and that Augustus was glad of the excuse offered by the Ethiopian inroad. Both alike extended the Roman knowledge of Egypt's neighbours, settled the question of annexation in the negative, and were not so much conquests as reconnaissances. It is to Augustus' credit that he accepted facts as they were directly he became acquainted with them, and, recognising Egypt's invulnerability except by sea, nipped the Forward Policy in that country promptly in the bud.

1. Probably Ibrim, near Korosko, and intended, like that place to guard, not only the Nile, but also the desert route from Abu Ahmed.

2. From Cairo to Merawee is some 1,200 miles. The English Nile expedition of 1884–5 took about three months to cover the distance.

The Roman demand for new and sensational enterprises having been so far satisfied, Augustus proceeded to take in hand the less exciting but more necessary business of reorganising the Eastern provinces. He himself went East in B.C. 22, and visited Athens, where he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, and Sparta, where he partook of the famous black broth at the syssitia. He then went on to Samos, where he appears to have spent most of his time, but did not return to Rome till he had visited Syria. Agrippa, who had preceded Augustus in the East, and who succeeded him there, followed much the same itinerary, except that his headquarters and post of observation was not Samos but Mytilene, and that he undertook a little campaign in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, whither Augustus did not penetrate. Between them, they were at work almost continuously in the East for ten years, and by the time their labours were over the Eastern half of the Roman world had assumed the form which it retained almost intact for the best part of a century. Vespasian was the first Emperor who ventured on really considerable changes in their original design.

In Greece itself most of the work had been already done. The subdivision of the old Græco-Macedonian governorship and formation of the new senatorial province of Achæa; the establishment of Roman colonies on Greek soil; and the qualified and partial recognition of Greek "freedom,"—all these foundation-stones of the Greece of the early Empire were laid by Augustus shortly after Actium. All that he and Agrippa did during the period of the Ten-year Mission was to complete the organisation on existing lines.

Sentimental enthusiasm of any kind was not Augustus' strong point, and it would be an exaggeration to call him a Philhellene. Still he appears to have meant well by

Greece, and the traditional Roman policy of treating that country as an altogether exceptional province, indeed hardly as a province at all, was by no means abandoned by him. Greece (by which under the early Empire was meant the Peloponnese and South-central Greece, exclusive of Thessaly, Epirus, and parts of Ætolia and Acarnania)[1] was pre-eminently the province of "free cities."[2] The fact that its two leading cities, Athens and Sparta, were both "free," distinguished it from all other provinces. In the Peloponnese the only other free community besides Sparta was that of the Eleutherolacones, descended from the Spartan *émigrés* of the time of Nabis, who dwelt in the southern half of Laconia with the port of Gythium, and whom Augustus had to liberate once for all from the

1. Thessaly always went with Macedonia; Epirus was at first apparently divided between Macedonia and Illyricum; all we know of Ætolia and Acarnania is that the province of Achæa did not originally include them, except in so far as they helped to form the territory of Nicopolis and Patræ.

[Some difficulty has been caused by the interpretation of Strabo, p. 840. Ἀχαιὰν μεχρὶ Θετταλίας καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καί τινων Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσώριστο. Is μέχρι here inclusive or exclusive?

Unless the text is corrupt the latter is the only possible interpretation. The chief difficulty is that Nicopolis is called by Tacitus (Ann. ii. 53) a city of Achæa, which, however, may be explained as in the author's note. Ptolemy (iii. 15, 14) in assigning Ætolia to Achæa can only be taken as evidence for his own time. For the other view see Brandis in Pauly-Wissowa Real Encyclopädie (i. 1, 193). Mommsen (Provinces i. 298) considers that at a later date Ætolia was assigned to Achæa, and possibly for a period Epirus also. From the time of Trajan, Epirus and Acarnania formed a separate province.]

2. Strictly speaking, Athens and Sparta were "federate." But the distinction between "free" and "federate," which means something in the West, vanishes almost entirely in Greece and the Greek East, and the authors commonly speak of Athens and Sparta as "free cities." Even in the western provinces of course, every "federate" city was also "free," though every "free" city was not also "federate."

yoke which Sparta appears to have once more succeeded in imposing on them. Perhaps it was by way of compensation that he presented Sparta, or rather the great noble who was then almost the King of Sparta,[1] with the island of Cythera. The east of the Peloponnese received no special privileges. It had taken the losing side in the civil war. In Central Greece, however, the free towns were far more numerous. Over and above Athens itself which, though deprived by Augustus of Ægina and Eretria in Eubœa, still was a regular town-state with the whole of Attica, half a dozen islands, and part of Bœotia for its territory, there were Delphi, Abæ, Elatia, Thespiæ, Tanagra, probably Amphissa,[2] and the islands of Cephallenia, Zacynthus and Corcyra. All these towns were in theory entitled to their own constitution (though probably in all cases, and certainly at Athens, the Romans took care that the constitution was tightened up in an anti-democratic sense),[3] made and administered their own laws, and were legally exempt from the interference of the Roman governor. Strictly speaking, they did not form a part of

1. This was Eurycles, son of the Lachares whom Antony had executed for "piracy," and consequently an uncompromising adherent of Augustus in the Civil War. His ἐπιστασία was much more than an ordinary magistracy. He was in fact a petty despot, like those recognised by Rome in Thrace. He abused his position, was the cause of revolutionary movements, and was finally banished. His son C. Julius Lacon (the Romanization of the name is noteworthy) succeeded him for a short time and was then expelled, but held the ἐπιστασία again under Claudius. Lacon's son, C. Julius Eurycles Herclanos, was the first of the family to enter the Roman official career. He was quæstor in Achæa, then ædile and prætor, and finally legate of the Third Legion.

2. All that we are told (by Pliny) of Amphissa is that it was tax-free, *immunis*. But a town which was *immunis* was pretty certain to be also *libera*.

3. At Athens this took the form of a revival of the powers of the Areopagus. It was not therefore a new thing so much as a return to the ways of old-fashioned Athenian conservatism.

the province to which they geographically belonged, at all. Some of them, in particular Athens and Sparta, were, moreover, tax-free, and as Achæa contributed few or no soldiers to the Roman army the province did not make good in that way the deficiencies of its pecuniary contribution to the resources of the Empire. We must not, however, assume that every free town in Greece or the Greek East was tax-free. That appears to have been the rule of the Empire, and unless immunity is specifically asserted in the authors or inscriptions, it should always be assumed that a given free city or a given Roman colony under the Empire paid its quota like the rest. Greece remained a privileged province even after Augustus had been at work on it, but it was not so privileged as it would have been if all its free cities and Roman colonies had had as little to say to the Roman Treasury as had Athens.

The number of free cities in Greece was not increased by Augustus. It is even probable that he diminished it when he made a separate province of Achæa. It was necessary to provide that the pro-consul of the new and purely Greek province should have something to do and someone to govern, and Augustus saw to that by eliminating from the category of free towns all cities which had no special claim upon his favour. We know that Messenian Mothone became free under Trajan, Arcadian Pallantium under Antoninus Pius, and the most likely explanation is that both cities in that way regained the status of which Augustus had deprived them.[1] The chief of these unfree

1. Dio li. 2 says of Augustus after Actium :—

καὶ ὃς τὰς μὲν πόλεις . . . . . τῆς λοιπῆς ἐς τοὺς πολίτας ὀφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξουσίας παραιρέσει μετῆλθε. In Pausanius, vii. 18, 5: καὶ ἔδωκε μὲν ἐλευθέροις Ἀχαιῶν μόνοις τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν εἶναι the μόνοις seems to imply that there were other free cities in Achæa proper before Augus[illegible]ay lost their privilege at his hand.

cities was Argos, and it was in Argos that the "League of the Acheans," a body representative of all such cities, annually met. These cities between them constituted the province, and though the free cities were numerous and important, still they were exceptions only. Greece remained a province under the Empire, and most Greeks were provincials. To the Greeks, passionately enamoured of liberty and conscious of the extent to which the civilised world, and Italy not least, owed them its civilisation, such treatment was an outrage never quite forgiven. What was good enough for Illyrians or Thracians was not good enough for them, and the continued poverty of their country even under the well-meaning rule of the Empire must be in part ascribed to this deep-lying cause of dissatisfaction and unrest. Political discontent and material prosperity seldom go together.

It is consistent with the whole of the Roman policy towards Greece that very little effort was made to Romanise the country by means of colonies. Romanisation was the accepted policy for Gauls and Spaniards, but with Greeks there could be no question of it, and even outside Greece proper, wherever the Greek civilisation had taken root, the Roman policy was rather to extend than to supplant it. In the East the Romans were content to work through the Greek form of civilisation, and to act as the successors of Alexander. They did not Romanise; they Hellenised. In Greece itself the Roman colonies were three only, and perhaps even that is one too many, for it is by no means certain that Nicopolis ought to be included. In any case, even if Nicopolis had a right to the title of colony,[1] the Roman element in the place was insignificant or non-

[1. Servius (ad Aen. iii. 501) seems to imply that Nicopolis was a *civitas foederata*.]

existent. At Patræ that element was a diminishing quantity. Only at Corinth was it strong. Corinth was founded by Cæsar in the year of his assassination, at the same time as Carthage, out of the same class of landless Romans, and no doubt in the same spirit of atonement for the guilty commercial jealousy to which both cities had owed their destruction a century ago.[1] It really was a Roman city in Greek soil, just as Berytus was a Roman city on Syrian soil, and as such naturally became the capital of the province of Achæa and the residence of the Roman governor. Corinth was the work of Cæsar; Patræ and Nicopolis were the work of Augustus, and they constitute his one serious constructive effort to arrest the material decline of Greece. Patræ was undoubtedly a Roman colony. Veterans of the Tenth and Twelfth legions were settle there by Augustus after Actium, and when (in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*) he included Achæa among the provinces in which he established military colonies, it was Patræ that he had in mind. But the Roman element in the population was from the first inferior to the Greek one. A number of old and decaying towns in the old Greek district of Achæa were depopulated or even razed in order that their inhabitants might migrate to Patræ, and the territory of the new city not only included the greater part of the Achæan coast, but even ran across the Gulf, took in part of Ætolia, a great slice of the Locri Ozolæ, and met, as it seems, the territory of the other new town-state of Nicopolis in the neighbourhood of Calydon. This large Greece population naturally made Patræ in substance a Greek city. Corinth had the regular duumvirs of a Roman colony, but there is no trace of such magistrates at Patræ, and the Roman element, consisting

1. *Cf.*, however, p. 203, note 2.

mainly of veterans often too old and by their way of life unfitted to found and bring up a family, and without reinforcement from the mother country, must have thinned out more and more as time went on.

Nicopolis, which was founded by Augustus in commemoration of his victory over Antony on the northern horn or "head" of the Ambracian Bay, was even more purely Greek than Patræ. How, then, does Tacitus come to call it a Roman colony? The whole sweep of the Bay was included in its territory, and it is possible that a colony of Roman veterans was established on the opposite promontory of Actium, where lay the temple of Apollo and the dockyard. This would account for Tacitus' loose description, as well as for a much-discussed phrase of the elder Pliny,[1] who seems to regard the colony of Actium and the free city of Nicopolis as the component parts of a single whole. What were the exact relations of the colony to the free city it is indeed impossible to say. But it should be borne in mind that, as regards the Roman overlord, the legal position of a colony was much the same as that of a free city, and the juxtaposition of two polities in one city was not of course unprecedented, though such "sympolity" was anomalous and rare. But, however these points may be determined, one thing at all events is certain. Nicopolis was a Greek and not a Roman city. It was one of the largest town-states of the Empire, with a territory equal to that of such great Gaulish communities as the Remi or Carnutes, and with a great Greek population. Impressed, we are told, by the decay into which Ambracia and the other cities in the neighbourhood of the Bay had fallen, Augustus transplanted their remaining inhabitants

1. N.H. iv. 5. Colonia Augusta Actium, cum templo Apollinis nobili et civitate libera Nicopolitana.

into his new city of Nicopolis.[1] He also cleared out Calydon, indeed all Ætolia (except the slice reserved for Patræ) in the same way, and went so seriously to work that those Ætolians who did not want to be incorporated into the brand-new city could only avoid their fate by running away from Ætolia into the territory of the Locri Ozolæ, and becoming citizens of the Locrian city of Amphissa. Great part of Acarnania was treated in the same drastic fashion, some of its cities being depopulated and their inhabitants transplanted to the all-devouring Nicopolis, while others sank from their old independent position and, ceasing to be self-governing cities, became villages on the territory of the upstart which had supplanted them.

That Nicopolis was intended to hold a high, even paramount position in the Greece of the Empire was still more clearly shown in Augustus' remodelling of the Amphictyonic Council. This relic of antiquity as refurbished by Augustus consisted of thirty members, six of whom came from the one city of Nicopolis, six from all Macedonia, and six from Thessaly. The Phocians and Bœotians had two votes each, as also had the city of Delphi, while one representative each was held enough for Doris, the Locri Ozolæ, the Locri Opuntii, Eubœa, Athens, and the Dorians of Peloponnese, in other words, the cities of Argos, Sicyon, Megara, and Corinth. The Peloponnese was treated in a very step-motherly fashion, and Sparta was left out in the cold altogether. On the other hand, the inclusion of Thessaly and Macedonia stands in sharp contrast to Augustus' political severance of them from the province of Greece proper, and is an

1. Dio's succinct account is (li. 1) :—
πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων συνῴκισε, Νικόπολιν αὐτῇ ὄνομα δούς.

interesting assertion of the Pan-hellenic idea. As the Council in its new shape had merely religious and ceremonial functions, and no political or judicial powers whatever, such a concession to sentiment was of little consequence. On the other hand, the place assigned to Nicopolis reveals a settled policy. Her six votes contrasted oddly with the two of Delphi and the one of Athens, while the apparent equality of Thessaly and of Macedonia was not real, as the same representatives of Nicopolis voted at successive meetings while the representatives of Macedonia, or Thessaly, or the Peloponnesian Dorians were constantly changing, one city or group of cities in those countries having the right of election at one time, and another at another. Thus the one representative of the Peloponnesian Dorians would be elected in the first year by Argos, in the next by Corinth, and so on. Nicopolis had therefore a numerical superiority over Athens, and the superiority given by continuity of representatives and policy over Macedonia. Short of a decree expressly giving Nicopolis the primacy among all Greek states, Augustus could not have more plainly declared his meaning.

The foundation of Nicopolis and Patræ has been attacked on the ground that they owed their prosperity to the ruin of older cities which they replaced, and that whole districts were left desolate that they might be populous. In particular Nicopolis has been credited with the depopulation of Ætolia and Acarnania. That, however, is not quite just. The depopulation was of much older date than that, and it was just because he saw the hopeless decay into which the cities in that part of Greece had fallen that Augustus conceived the idea of uniting into a new and brilliant city those scattered fragments of population, which were powerless and poverty-stricken by themselves. Much the same reasoning applies to Patræ. The district

of Achæa in which it was planted was only less decayed, if less, than Ætolia and Acarnania. That the sites of the new cities were well chosen is proved by the commercial importance of Patras at this moment, and by the fact that even under the Turkish government Nicopolis has left a successor in Prevesa. Both cities were on that western coast which had hitherto been the poorest and most backward part of Greece, and were dependent upon trade with Italy and the West generally for their prosperity. The front door of Greece was on its eastern side, where a succession of islands made almost a bridge between it and Asia Minor. On the western side a wide expanse of often stormy sea parted Greece from Italy, and Italy had to become the political and commercial centre of the Mediterranean before the western harbours had their chance. Then they had it, and with the great development of sea-borne trade which accompanied the Empire[1] Nicopolis and Patræ fully vindicated Augustus' foresight. They rose as Delos and the Piræus fell.

For Greece as a whole, however, the success of Nicopolis and Patræ did little or nothing, and the country long remained the least creditable portion of the Roman Empire. It is true that it had been fearfully visited by the twenty years of civil war, not to mention its share in the earlier struggle between Marius and Sulla, and that it and Macedonia had been the scene of the three decisive battles which terminated the three stages of that war. Moreover, Greece in general and Athens in particular had shown a genius for taking the losing side, and had suffered accordingly. Strabo's account of the depopulation of Ætolia, Acarnania, and Achæa[2] is sufficiently gloomy,

1. Horace Od. iv. 5, 19. Pacatum volitant per mare navitae.

2. Using the term in its strict and limited sense, as applying to part of the Peloponnese.

and he is at least equally emphatic about Bœotia. Indeed the only doubt about Strabo's picture of Greece is whether it is not too black, and whether he does not transfer to his own period [1] a gloom which hung over the land in its full density only during the awful years of the expiring Republic. But even if the early Empire was, as seems probable, a period of slow recovery for Greece, the recovery was in any case but comparative. The old Greece of the great ages never came back. Writing two generations after Strabo, Plutarch explained the cessation of oracles in Greece by dwelling on the thinness of the population. "In the general depopulation," he says, "which the former factions and wars have brought about over nearly all the world, Greece has had the largest share, so that she, taken altogether, can hardly raise 3,000 heavy-armed men, the same number that the single town of Megara sent to Platæa. The fact, therefore, that many oracles of the gods are become extinct is nothing else than a proof of the desolation of Greece. For what use would be an oracle in Tegyræ, as there formerly was, or Ptoum, where now it would take you a good part of a day to meet a man keeping of sheep?"

Quite a different picture is presented by Western Asia Minor, which flourished greatly under the early Empire, and that although its sufferings under the Republic had not been less than those of Greece. For instance, Brutus made the cities of the Roman province pay over to him ten years' tribute in one year, and when Antony visited them after Philippi he had at first demanded the same sum, but afterwards was so indulgent as to accept the payment of nine years' tribute, in three yearly instalments. And yet Asia recovered from its misfortunes as soon as the peace

1. Strabo wrote under Tiberius.

and order of the Empire gave it a chance. Why did not Greece recover also?

As a mountainous country, without great mineral resources, and without good roads,[1] Greece was not formed by nature to be rich. Its geographical position, however, and its many harbours fitted it to be the emporium between East and West so long as there was no greater commercial power than itself still further to the westward. In proportion as Italy became such a power, Greece declined. The trade of Egypt, and Syria, and Asia Minor, which used to be concentrated in Delos and the Piræus, shifted over by degrees to Italy. The Alexandrian merchantmen left Delos and indeed all Greece on one side, and sailed direct for Puteoli, which was Rome's harbour for the eastern trade, as Ostia was her harbour for the trade with Spain. The process was an inevitable one in any case; trade is always tending to become direct; but in such matters the Romans were not above loading the dice in their own favour, and it was hastened by the destruction of Corinth in B.C. 146—a misdeed probably to some extent prompted by commercial jealousy[2]—as well as by the calamities which befell Delos some fifty years later in the

1. Roads were not wanted in Greece for military purposes, and therefore the Romans showed themselves by no means so zealous about making them as they did in the frontier provinces. Hadrian the Philhellene was apparently the first Emperor to do much for Greek roads. In particular he built the mighty cliff-road (the pass of Sciron of evil memory) from Megara to Corinth, and so for the first time made wheeled traffic easy and safe between the Peloponnese and Attica.

2 It is quite possible, as Holm (Griechische Geschichte iv. 524) suggests, that Mommsen has laid too exclusive a stress on this cause, but Strabo p. 668 (*πλούσιοι γενόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνος καὶ Κορίνθου κατασκαφήν*) is certainly significant. [Holm points out as other possible reasons—the importance of Acrocorinthus as a strategical position, and the need of making an example of the city that had led the opposition to Rome.]

war with Mithradates. Delos was an Italian much more than a Greek centre, a kind of Italian Hong-Kong in Greek waters, and after the great catastrophe of B.C. 89 the survivors naturally and easily transferred themselves and their trade to Campania from which most of them had originally come.

The intellectual primacy of Greece could not be so easily transferred. Greece continued to be in a sense the second fatherland of every educated man. Athens was still the unique city, the tourist's paradise, the intellectual meeting-point of East and West. To be a citizen of Athens was still a desirable distinction for which rich nobodies were prepared to pay, and which the Athenians were very willing to sell, and Augustus had to put an end to a shameful traffic which apparently seemed quite natural to the degenerate descendants of Miltiades. But even on this side Greece lost something, and she lost it mainly by the desertion of her own sons. The dispersion of the Greeks over the Roman Empire was at least as remarkable as that of the Jews, and it would be hardly a paradox to say that there were Greeks everywhere except in Greece.[1] These exiles were architects, painters, sculptors, schoolmasters, and so on. They abounded, above all, at Rome, which soon became an educational and even artistic centre of the first importance. Formerly, when a young Roman of distinction "went to the University," he settled in Greece and by preference at Athens. That was no longer necessary. He could get the required teaching either in Rome itself, or, if it was preferred that he should see the world, at Massilia, as already pointed out, or at any one

1. This dispersion, however, did not begin under the Roman rule. It first assumed great dimensions under the Diadochi, in consequence mainly of the constant wars which desolated Greece and the economic decay which naturally followed.

of half a dozen cities scattered over the East from Egypt to Asia Minor. The Greek race and the Greek spirit were everywhere, but Greece itself gained nothing, she rather lost, from all that life and vigour. Her own sons were competitors against their mother.

The resources of Greece were therefore scanty. Intelligent, competent and vigilant administration will, however, make even small resources go a long way. Unfortunately Greece was not one of the well-governed portions of the Empire. The Romans did not feel disposed to trouble themselves much about a province which had no military and little commercial importance, and which, whatever they did, must always remain the merest shadow of its former greatness. It could never do them credit in the sense in which the splendid material development of Spain and Gaul from a past of comparative barbarism did them credit. Moreover, quite a third of the province was withdrawn from their direct administration, and was in the hands of self-governing free towns. Their sense of responsibility for the province as a whole must have been thereby greatly weakened, while that loss was not atoned for by any exceptionally good government of the towns in question. On the whole, indeed, these towns appear to have governed themselves badly.

In a little tract drawn up by Plutarch for the benefit of a young aspirant to public life in Greece, the sage of Chæronea gave some excellent advice, which was not always followed. "You will have," he says, "no wars to wage, no tyrants to put down, no alliances to conclude. The utmost which you can hope for is to suppress some petty abuse, to make war on some evil custom, to revive some charitable foundation which has fallen into decay, to repair an aqueduct or to rebuild a temple, to adjust some local tax, to preside at a sacrifice, or to remove a

misunderstanding with some neighbouring city."[1] Unfortunately the Greeks could not forget whose sons they were, and the more ardent spirits did not find it easy to resign themselves to a round of duties so unambitious. At Athens in particular there were, under Augustus, disturbances amounting, absurd as it may seem, to downright insurrection, and the Romans had to interfere by force. A mysterious passage of Strabo,[2] which appears to be intentionally reticent and obscure, points to outbreaks of a like revolutionary temper in other Greek cities, and it is indeed on the face of it unlikely that the "megalomania," or passion for doing things on a great scale and cutting a great figure in the world, which was so marked a feature of the Greek character, should be subdued at once.

For another weak side of the Greek free cities that same characteristic was also perhaps responsible. Their expenditure, chiefly on public buildings, was wont to exceed their income, and it was not long before Rome had to send financial commissioners (*Correctores*) with full powers for investigation and reform, if those spoilt children of the Empire were to be saved from downright bankruptcy. The public buildings of the Greek free cities, and indeed of the Greek cities of every category not only in Greece proper but throughout the East, were, judged by modern standards, extraordinary for size, magnificence, and number. But there was another side to the picture, and the *correctores* show plainly what it was. The dark shadow of financial embarrassment was seldom far away from them.

But, however the fact of Greece's economic weakness

[1. The above is a paraphrase of the *Moralia* 805 A.B.]

2 p. 322.

may be explained, at all events the fact itself is certain. It is also certain that Augustus did very little to mend matters, and it is significant that no sooner had Tiberius succeeded him than he was entreated by both Greece and Macedonia for relief from burdens which were too heavy for them. He gave it by taking them out of the hands of the weak senatorial rule, with its annual change of governor and its absence of initiative, to which Augustus had condemned them, and governing them directly by means of legates. Under Tiberius and Caligula, Greece was an Imperial province, and it was not till the accession of the conservative and antiquarian Claudius that it was once more put under the Senate and governed by annual proconsuls.

THE ORGANISATION OF ASIA MINOR.

CHAPTER VII.

The Organisation of Asia Minor.

Of the total problem presented to Augustus by the Greek East two parts had thus been dealt with. He had fitted Egypt to be the milch-cow of the Empire, and had solved—or rather failed to solve—the purely economic problem presented by Greece itself. He had thus begun with the two ends of a chain, and the intermediate links of Asia Minor and Syria had been comparatively neglected. This was the great field in which Augustus and Agrippa were now to labour, and in which their efforts were to be seconded or continued by scions of the Imperial house, like Tiberius and Gaius Cæsar, by provincial governors like Quirinius, Lollius, and Varus, and by such tools of Empire [1] as the half barbarian Herod.

Augustus himself went on from Greece to Samos, the island so conveniently placed in the near neighbourhood not only of Ephesus and Smyrna, but also of the main road into the interior, and there spent the winter of B.C. 21. He crossed over into Asia in the spring, re-organised that province and Bithynia, [2] and then proceeded to Syria, whence he returned in time to winter once more at Samos, and finally left the East for Italy in

[1] Tacitus' "instrumenta servitutis."

[2] Both were senatorial provinces, and should therefore, if the so-called "dyarchy" had been a reality, have been organized by the Senate. *Cf.* Dio liv. 7, and *supra* p. 27 for the Emperor's power in senatorial provinces.

B.C. 19. We know from two chance references in the letters of the younger Pliny that Augustus then regulated with considerable minuteness the law of the Bithynian cities. Dio tells us that he did as much in Asia, and in particular that he re-apportioned the taxes among the Asian cities, some of which had paid too little and others too much. He planted a Roman colony in Alexandria Troas,[1] one of the two cities in the province of Asia which enjoyed that honour under the early Empire. He gave Samos its "freedom"—a natural and proper attention to his host, and a privilege which Mytilene in Lesbos, by means of the deputation under Crinagoras to Spain,[2] had secured already,—and on the other hand, deprived Cyzicus of the like privilege which it had, from the Roman point of view, justly forfeited by outrages upon Roman citizens. The controversy between Ephesus and its great Temple of Artemis, which formed a kind of Leonine City exempt from municipal jurisdiction, must have then come before him, though the final settlement was not reached till some fifteen years later.[3] Above all, he came to terms with Parthia—the one great Oriental State which asserted it-

1 This is the colony Augustus alludes to when he says in the Monumentum Ancyranum:—"colonias in . . . . Asia, Syria . . . . militum deduxi." Strabo, p. 593, writing under Tiberius, mentions it as a recent colony. Of course the colony may have been founded shortly after Actium, but on the whole it is more probable that it came in the connexion indicated in the text. Berytus (the Syrian colony alluded to in the above passage from the Mon. Anc.) was founded by Agrippa not long afterwards.

2 I infer from Crinagoras xxxix. (p. 90 of Rubensohn's edition) that the deputation found Augustus recovering from his fatigues at some baths on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees. They certainly found him somewhere in Spain, and got what they wanted from him.

3 For the details see *infra* pp. 231–2.

independence of and even its equality with Rome[1] —on the basis of the surrender of the standards and the prisoners taken from Crassus and from Antony, regulated the succession of Armenia, and covered the Euphrates frontier with a ring of vassal-states which so far acknowledged his sovereignty as to take their princes from his hand. While still in Spain he had taken advantage of the death of Amyntas [2] in B.C. 25 to make a new imperial province of Galatia and Lycaonia, and had appointed Lollius, the friend of Horace and, more than twenty years afterwards, the confidential adviser of the young Gaius Cæsar in the East to be its first praetorian governor. But he took no further steps in that direction. It was not merely that he abstained from annexing Armenia when, according to his own story, he could have done it. "Greater Armenia," he himself writes in the Monumentum Ancyranum, "after the murder of its King Artaxes, I could have made into a

1. Strabo, p. 515—ἀντίπαλοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τροπόν τινα; Plin. N. H. v. 21.—duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque; Dio, xl. 14—Τελευτῶντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο καί τῆς δόξης καί τῆς δυνάμεως ἐχώρησαν ὥστε καί τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ ἀντίπαλοι νομίζεσθαι;

Justin. xli., 1. Parthi, penes quos velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta nunc orientis imperium est. Liv., ix. 18. Levissimi ex Græcis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent. . . . . Horace is full of a kind of dread of Parthia ("Parthos Latio imminentes," "graves Persae," "gravibusque Persis"), which is referable in the main, no doubt, to memories of Crassus and Antony, but is perhaps also a vague reminiscence of the Persian Empire and the peril to the West which was conjured by Marathon.

2 Amyntas, ex-secretary and general of the King Deiotarus, known to us from Cicero, had been King of Galatia since B.C. 36. He had gone over to Antony at the right moment, and been rewarded with the royal title, with Galatia, part of Lycaonia, of Pamphylia, and of Pisidia. In the year of Actium he rallied from Antony to Octavian, and Octavian gave him Aspera Cilicia as well. He made himself useful by warring against the Pisidian and Isaurian brigands, and was finally killed in a campaign against the Homonadenses.

province, but I preferred, according to the example of our ancestors, to entrust that kingdom to Tigranes by the hands of Tiberius Nero, who was at that time (B.C. 20) my stepson." Armenia, however, was a great matter, too great in fact to be even touched by anyone but a member of the Imperial house,[1] and to annex it meant war with Parthia. But such considerations did not apply to Cappadocia, Armenia Minor,[2] and Commagene, all of which were left under princes of their own, while Archelaus of Cappadocia was also entrusted with Western Cilicia and with the task which that rough, indented coast necessarily carried with it, of putting down and keeping down the pirates.[3] Augustus was in fact determined to hold the Asia Minor frontier without troops. He was obliged to keep four legions in Syria, though even that number was inadequate, and he would not have a single one in Asia Minor.[4] He

1. Augustus sent Tiberius there in B.C. 20; tried in vain to induce him to go again in B.C. 6; and a few years later sent young Gaius Cæsar. He would no doubt have interfered oftener, if he had had a relative whom he could trust available.

[2. Armenia Minor was given by Augustus to Archelaus of Cappadocia (Dio Cassius liv. 9; Strabo p. 555), who also probably received part of southern Lycaonia, which had belonged to Amyntas (*cf.* Ramsay Historical Geography of Asia Minor)].

3. As long as there was a prince of Galatia, he had to do this work. But Amyntas had been killed five years before (B.C. 25) and Galatia had become a province. If its Roman governor was also to look after Western Cilicia, it was necessary that he should have troops, and against that Augustus' mind was evidently made up.

4. Mommsen (Provinces i. 350) followed by Jung (in Iwan Müller's Handbuch, iii. 547) puts 5,000 auxiliaries in Galatia, at all events under Nero, and refers to Josephus (Bell. Jud., ii. 16, § 4). All that Josephus says is that the peoples on the east and north-east coasts of the Black Sea were controlled by 3,000 (not 5,000) ὁπλῖται. Some of these were probably stationed in the Cimmerian Bosporus, some on the extreme east coast. We simply do not know the details, though the general situation—the responsibility of these troops, that is, not at all for the Armenian frontier

took over a native legion trained and armed in the Roman fashion—the so-called XXII. Deiotariana[1] from Galatia when he made a province of that country, but he did not employ it either in Galatia itself or in any other part of Asia Minor. It was sent to Egypt, in the garrison of which country soldiers of Galatian origin were common during the next hundred years. The result was that the whole Eastern frontier of Asia Minor was dangerously bare. The Syrian troops had to do everything, even to suppress brigandage in Cilicia,[2] the Eastern half of which was, no doubt with that object, temporarily put under the governor of Syria, and could not themselves be reinforced in case of emergency from any nearer garrisons than those of Egypt and the Lower Danube. Cæsar had apparently determined otherwise. At his death there were three legions in the great double province of Bithynia-Pontus. Augustus, however, abolished that command, and put no other in its place. The frontier was held, so far as it was held at all, by a line of vassal or "buffer" States, and it was not till the accession of Vespasian, himself a first-rate military man who had served mainly in the East, that Cæsar's intentions were substantially carried out by the settlement of two legions in Cappadocia.

1 So called from Deiotarus, the Galatian prince, who originally raised it. Domaszewski, a good authority on such points, gives reasons for thinking that under Augustus the legion was known by the number only, and that the epithet was not added till the reign of Claudius (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* x. 59).

2 *Infra* p. 235.

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but for the peace of the Black Sea—is plain enough. It is of course possible that these troops were under the supreme command of the imperial legate of Galatia. There was no one else—senatorial governors being excluded from all military command—under whom they could well have been. But if so, it was "Galatia" in the wide administrative sense, including the districts on the north coast mentioned in the inscription quoted on p. 27 (note) not the inland district of Galatia proper.

The same cautious policy was pursued in Syria, whither Augustus proceeded later in the year (B.C. 20). He not only left Herod in possession of Judæa, but gave him also the wild half-peopled, robber-infested land, extending eastwards from the Sea of Galilee to the mountains of Hauran. The gift carried with it obligations—the defence of the frontier and, no doubt, the coercion of the banditti who had hitherto harried the territory of Damascus from the fastnesses of Trachonitis. The policy of entrusting the most troublesome and least profitable portions of the frontier to these vassal States was followed further north in the recognition of the petty dynasty of Emesa, a city on the left bank of the upper Orontes and commanding one of the chief trade routes to Palmyra, and, further south, in the grant of the "tetrarchy" of Peræa to Herod's brother Pheroras. These arrangements, and the temporary withdrawal of their "freedom" from the once great and famous cities of Tyre and Sidon, which had been about that time the scene of revolutionary disturbances, are all that we have authority for attributing to the direct personal intervention of Augustus in Syria. He did not enter Judæa, and left it to Agrippa to found the Roman colony of Berytus,[1] some twenty-eight miles to the north of Sidon, and no doubt partly intended to watch and check any excessive pretensions of its ancient neighbours. His chief reason for coming to Syria was not indeed connected with Syria itself, but with that great rival Empire of Parthia which could be dealt with more easily, by way either of negotiation or of menace, from the Syrian capital.

1. Perhaps also Heliopolis. See p. 221 (note 1).

[The colony of Berytus was founded in 14 B.C. Strabo p. 756. Euseb. Chronic. apud annum.]

The mere presence of Augustus at Antioch [1] was a demonstration of some significance which the Parthians would not fail to understand. It meant either war or the restoration of the Roman standards which Crassus and Antony had lost. But Augustus also took other and perhaps more effectual means to show the Parthians that he was in earnest. Before he himself left Samos for Syria he despatched the young Tiberius with an army to Armenia, and entrusted him with large extraordinary powers "for the regulation of the Eastern provinces." An excuse for this interference with Armenia was provided by the discontent with their reigning king, Artaxes, which the Armenians had expressed at Rome; but Artaxes, who was a fugitive from Alexandria whither Antony had deported him, and whose rule had been conspicuously anti-Roman, had, of course, long been marked down for destruction at the first opportunity. Tiberius, however, was spared the task of executioner; the Armenians took that off his hands; and when he arrived in the country with the Tigranes, whom he had brought from Italy to set upon the throne, he found Artaxes dead and the Armenians perfectly ready for his successor. Tiberius put the crown upon Tigranes' head with his own hand in the presence of the troops, and so asserted the Roman suzerainty of Armenia. But his success did not stop there. The Parthians, finding the Romans were in earnest, and feeling themselves bound in honour by the fact that Augustus had previously restored the Parthian prince who had been kidnapped by Tiridates, and who had lived under his eye at Rome since B.C. 30, not only offered no opposition to the destruction

[1] [It is doubtful whether Augustus was actually in Antioch. Dio Cassius liv. 7 and Strabo p. 821, merely mention Syria.]

of their own Armenian puppet and the installation of the Roman one—they knew very well that their turn would come again when the Romans had gone—but actually sent the precious standards, and with them such Roman prisoners as still survived,[1] into the Roman camp. Tiberius handed the standards on to Augustus, who rejoiced greatly at this satisfaction to the Roman pride which had been so deeply wounded by their loss, and who thereafter was ever careful to represent the surrender, and to have it represented, as compulsory.[2]

It is one of the paradoxes, and perhaps one of the misfortunes of Augustus' reign, that the military genius of the soldier who had done so much to win the Empire for him was never employed against Parthia, and barely touched Germany. While Tiberius was in Armenia, Agrippa was still engaged upon the arduous but inglorious task of reducing the Cantabrians,[3] and when he was free for work in the East the Armenian problem was for the moment dormant. At all events Agrippa, though once more in the East from 17 to 13 B.C., does not appear to have touched Armenia. He undertook one considerable military enterprise, but Armenia was not the scene of it. By planting a vassal prince firmly in the Cimmerian Bosporus (Crimea)[4] he secured the northern

1. Horace. Od. iii., 5, 5. Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara.

2. Mon. Anc., 29. Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi. Horace. Od. iv. 15, 4.

Tua, Cæsar, ætas
. . . . . .
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis Postibus.

3 So Horace, Epist. 1, 12, 26, puts the two campaigns together :—
Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius, cecidit.

4 "That fragment of the mountains of Asia Minor, soldered by a freak of nature on to the Russian steppe." Eugène Melchoir de Vogue's "En Crimée," *Revue des Deux Mondes* for Dec. 1, 1886.

frontier of Asia Minor, as Tiberius had secured the eastern one. The prince in question—by name Polemo—was already King of Pontus, and as such might be relied upon to govern the Bosporus with an eye to the interests of the southern coast of the Black Sea, while the Romans could at any time exercise an effectual control over a prince who, if he had had the Bosporus only, would have found it far easier to assert a certain measure of independence. The Black Sea had a bad name for piracy, and the Bosporan State had in times past been known to give the pirate an asylum and to act as receiver of their stolen goods. To change all that was doubtless one of the chief tasks of the new prince. Agrippa, accompanied by Herod of Judæa (by whom he had been royally entertained at Jerusalem in the previous year), as Tiberius had been accompanied into Armenia by Archelaus of Cappadocia, inducted Polemo into his new kingdom in the year B.C. 14. There was no resistance, the people having disposed of the usurper to whom the Romans objected before the Romans came, and Agrippa was too genuine a soldier, even if there had been no other solid reasons for his refusal,[1] to accept the triumph which the Senate voted him for so facile a success. Polemo married Dynamis, the only living representative of the former royal house, and after her death, Pythodoris, daughter of Antonia [2] and grand-daughter of Mark Antony, by the

1. *Supra*, p. 165.

2. Antonia appears to have married the wealthy Pythodorus of Tralles (Strabo p. 649)—a marriage to which few Romans of Antony's rank would have consented, but which agree well with Antony's Philhellenism and Orientalism. Mommsen's very interesting paper in the Ephemeris Epigraphica (i. 270) puts this marriage almost beyond doubt. That Augustus should particularly favour and distinguish a daughter of the Triumvir was quite in accord with his very friendly attitude towards that family.

[It is not certain that Dynamis was the sole remaining representative

side of whom he appears to have been rather a prince-consort than a king, and who ruled his dominions for years after his death. The privilege, wholly exceptional within the Empire, of coining gold was continued to the Bosporan princes, who had long been familiar with a gold currency, but thenceforth the effigy of the reigning Emperor figured always on one side of the piece. Augustus thus followed Cæsar's policy of protecting Asia Minor from the Northern barbarians by putting a friendly kingdom between them and it,[1] and the Bosporan princes justified his confidence. There were times when their dominion extended to the Tanais (Don), and the isolation of these Greeks in a world of barbarism secured their unswerving loyalty to Rome.

Of the details of Agrippa's organisation we know little. A town called after him in Bithynia [2] reveals no doubt his beneficent presence there, and there are one or two other traces of that kind. That he brought a famous statue of Lysippus from Lampsacus to Rome was a less pleasing but a characteristically Roman sign of his activity. But the only important piece of work of which

1. Bell. Alex. 78. "Interposito amicissimo rege."

2. "Agrippenses," the people called themselves. Plin. N.H.V. 43.

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of the dynasty. She had been married first to Asander, who seems to have reigned from about 47 to 19 B.C., then to an adventurer Scribonius, and in 15 B.C. to Polemo. Polemo died about 18 A.D., and the kingdom was seized by Aspurgus, who may have been a son of Asander. In that case the genealogical connexion of the rulers would have been as follows :—

M. Antonius triumvir
|
Pharnaces — Pythodorus = Antonia
|
Asander = Dynamis = Polemo = Pythodoris
|
Aspurgus

Cf. Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie, s.v. Bosporus.

we have fairly full information was done not in Asia Minor but in Syria, where the famous Roman colony of Berytus perhaps owed to him its foundation,[1] and at all events its substantial settlement with Roman citizens. In the year B.C. 15 Agrippa settled in Berytus the time-expired men of two legions—the V. Macedonica and the VIII. Augusta—and at the same time extended the territory of the city across the Lebanon so to include a good part of the plain of Massyas, as far as the sources of the Orontes. Berytus was thus the first Roman colony in Syria, as Corinth had been in Greece, and had an even greater future. It retained for centuries its genuine Roman character—a Roman island in a Greek sea—and it was mainly through its famous law-school[2] that Roman law penetrated into the Greek East, and that not only men of Greek blood but Syrians and even Arabs became learned

1. Its name "Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus," suggests that Cæsar may have had a hand in it, or at all events that such a colony was among his plans and carried out by Augustus after his death in accordance with his wishes. Berytus, which was of course a famous city long before it was a Roman colony, was probably one of the Syrian civitates of Bell Alex. 65. Commoratus (Cæsar) fere in omnibus civitatibus quae majore sunt dignitate praemia bene meritis et viritim et publice tribuit. Heliopolis (Baalbec), on the saddle between the Orontes, flowing north, and the Leontes, flowing south, was also a Roman colony, and also called "Julia Augusta." It is therefore probable, though I do not regard the "Julia Augusta" as an absolute criterion of Julian-Augustan foundations, that it too was settled about this time. In that case we can discern a plan. Berytus was the bridle of the Lebanon, Heliopolis of the Anti-Lebanon, Orelli 1245 I.O.M. Heliopolitan. et Nemauso C. Julius Tib. fil. Fab. Tiberinus P.P. domo Beryto votum solvit (at Nemausus) and 1246—Cultores Jovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistunt—point to close friendship and association between the two colonies.

2. Πόλις ῥωμαικωτέρα πως καὶ τῶν νόμων παιδευτήριον. Gregorius Thaumaturgus (circa A.D. 239).

in its mysteries.[1] But the fact that the greatest Roman law-school was planted in a land of Hellenic civilisation had its influence upon that Roman law quite as much as upon that Hellenic civilisation. Men like Papinian (who was probably of Syrian birth and trained at Berytus) did something to infuse Greek ideas—in general, milder and more humane ideas—into Roman legislation, and if "from Hadrian onwards the real strength of Roman literature was in law,"[2] the Greek mind had its share,[3] though no doubt a lesser one than it had, say in Roman poetry, in that great development.

Agrippa, returning to Italy, died in B.C. 13; Augustus did not again visit the East; and accordingly for some fifteen years Syria and Asia Minor were left to the management of their provincial governors, each, of course, confined strictly to his own province, without the intervention of Imperial plenipotentiaries. Among these governors were Quintilius Varus, who entering upon the

1. Compare the very interesting rescript of Diocletian in Cod. Just. x. 50, 1. Impp. Diocletianus et Maximianus A.A. Severino et ceteris scholasticis Arabiis. Cum vos adfirmetis liberalibus studiis operam dare, maxime circa professionem juris, consistendo in civitate Berytorum provinciae Phoenices, providendum utilitati publicae et spei vestrae decernimus ut singuli usque ad vicesimum quintum annum aetatis suae studiis non avocentur. Berytus still plays the part of an educational centre in modern Syria. "As companions I had with me . . . also a young Syrian, born in Haina, who was a medical student at Beyrout and knew Turkish." See Dr. Max Baron von Oppenheim's "Journey through the Syrian Desert to Mosul in 1893," in *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* for 1894.

2. Roby's Introduction to Justinian's Digest, p. xvii.

3. For the infusion of Greek ideas into Roman law see Mitteis' "Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs" (1891) and a paper by Th. Reinach in the *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit* for 1893. The Roman maritime law was simply the Rhodian law, which they took over bodily. See the very interesting passage in the *Digest*, xiv. 2, 9.

Syrian governorship as a poor man, in the year B.C. 6, had become a millionaire when he left it two years afterwards, only thirteen years before the doom that awaited him in the German forest, and Sulpicius Quirinius, his immediate successor, whom all the world knows as "Cyrenius, governor of Syria." All this time the Armenian problem slept. Not that Augustus had any reason to be satisfied with the turn events had taken in that country, but no one but a member of his own house could in his view be trusted with a task which involved powers beyond those of the ordinary legate and which might easily lead to military operations of the most formidable kind. He was minded to interfere again in Armenia in B.C. 6, but Tiberius, who was at that time the only man with the necessary qualifications, flatly refused to do the work. Whether Tiberius was soured by the growing influence with the Emperor of his youthful grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, or was afraid to arouse their jealousy, or was rendered for the time incapable of action by the misery he suffered from his intolerable wife, it would be hard to say. Whatever the explanation, the fact remains. He refused the Armenian expedition, and buried himself in a seclusion of ten years at Rhodes instead, only returning to Italy and resuming his old place next the throne after the deaths of both the young princes had left it empty for him. Augustus accordingly had to wait till Gaius was old enough to be entrusted with the mission, and that meant waiting till A.D. 1, when the young man was twenty. In that year he set out for Armenia, attended (and no doubt to a certain extent drilled in what he had to do) at first by the Lollius who had been the first governor of Galatia,[1]

1. *Supra* p. 213.

afterwards—on Lollius' death—by the Sulpicius Quirinius, who had just vacated his first governorship of Syria,[1] as well as by King Juba, the vassal-prince of Mauretania, who held in the suite of the young prince much the same place which had been held in that of Tiberius by Archelaus of Cappadocia. There was the same external submission of the Armenians as there had been to Tiberius, and Gaius also put his puppet on the throne. Disturbances, however, soon broke out, and, as already related, at the siege of Artigira, a place in the upper valley of the Kur and not far from the capital Artaxata, Gaius received the wound which shortly afterwards caused his death. Such was the calamitous end of the expedition which the courtly Ovid had announced as the humiliation of the Parthian and the subjugation of the furthest East.[2] Augustus took no further step in that direction, and when his reign closed not only Armenia proper but Lesser Armenia, Cappadocia,[3] and Commagene were still beyond the frontier. Roman Asia Minor at Augustus' death was still the "land within the Halys."

This was the Asia Minor over which King Crœsus had ruled in the days of the Lydian Empire, and it was a great territory, including the provinces of Asia,[4] Bithynia-

1. Tac. Ann., iii. 48. Datusque rector C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti.

2. Ars Amat., i. 178. Nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris.

3. Augustus never formally annexed this province, but during Archelaus' temporary insanity (we do not know how long it lasted, or when it began), he sent a procurator into the country who took over the administration. Dio, lvii. 17.

4. Comprising the ancient divisions known as Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and part of Phrygia. These originally national and independent States were thus absorbed into one great administrative area. Moreover, in subdividing Asia into ten *conventus* for purposes of jurisdiction, the Romans carefully ignored the old tribal and national distinctions (Strabo p. 629). Some modern writers have maintained that the memory of the old racial

Pontus, Galatia, Pamphylia, and the free state of the Lycian mountaineers. Of these, Asia, the first in dignity of all the senatorial provinces, was under a proconsul. Bithynia-Pontus and Pamphylia were also senatorial, though their governors were only of pretorian rank, while Galatia was an imperial province governed by a legate, and Cilicia, or rather that eastern half of it which to this day, in virtue of its geography, its climate, and its population, belongs rather to Syria [1] than to Asia Minor, was for the time attached to Syria and so put under the greatest of Imperial legates—the governor of Syria and warden of the Euphrates. [2]

The contrast between the coast and the interior of Asia Minor is even more striking than it is in Spain. The one is all life and variety, well watered and well forested, and freshened by the presence of the sea. The interior, on the other hand, is a monotonous plateau, almost treeless, burnt up in summer and frozen by winter storms, dotted with great salt lakes and sundered, except on the west side, from the sea by high coastal ranges which

1. "Hardly has the traveller crossed the Melas, the easternmost river of Pamphylia, than he seems to be in a different world, and perceives in the features and dress of the population the nearness of the real Biblical East and Syria." Count Lanckoronski in 1890. The same traveller speaks of "half-Syrian Mersina."

2. There is no trace of a separate legate of Cilicia before A.D. 58 (Tac. Ann., xiii., 33).

[If we except the more than doubtful anecdote told by Philostratus in his Life of Apollonius of Tyana (quoted by Marquardt *Staatsverwaltung* i. 387).]

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divisions nevertheless persisted under the Empire, and was at the root of the redistribution of Asia into seven provinces about A.D. 300. Monceaux takes the view ("De Communi Asia Provinciæ," p. 100 foll.) and Bergk ("Rheinland in römischer Zeit.," p. 129, note 2) had previously dropped a hint in the same sense. Ramsay (*Classical Review*, iii. 178–9) controverts it.

either keep back its rivers altogether, or let them slip through trackless gorges in series of cascades,[1] or—still more characteristically—give them unseen passage underground. This mountain-rampart is most strongly marked on the south coast, where a continuous range, known to the ancients as the Taurus, extends from Lycia, aptly surnamed the Tyrol of Asia Minor, to the Cilician border, at that point turns sharply to the North-east, leaving at its feet the Cilician plain formed by the rivers Cydnus,[2] Sarus, and Pyramus, and so forces every army, caravan and even wayfarer proceeding to Tarsus, Syria and the further East to cross its backbone by one of several fairly easy passes, of which the best known and most frequented was the one significantly entitled the "Cilician Gates." Of course the rise of Constantinople somewhat diverted the current of traffic, and made the northerly route Ancyra (Angora) the more important one. But so long as Rome was the capital of the Empire, and Ephesus or Smyrna the great harbour and emporium on the Asian coast, so long the natural route eastward lay up the valley of the Mæander to Apamea, and thence—the long first step on to the plateau once surmounted—across an almost level country to the great barrier of the Taurus and the Cilician Gates.

Pushed forward as it is from the main trunk of Asia till it is within sight of Europe, Asia Minor partakes of the character of both continents. In the ancient world it was the bridge between East and West, and, with the construction of railways across it from Scutari and from Smyrna to the Euphrates, promises to discharge that function once again. It was thus the meeting ground

1. See the summary of Lieut. Märcker's exploration of the Lower Halys in the *Geographical Journal* for April, 1894, p. 327.

2. The river of Tarsus. It was said in antiquity that every man of Tarsus was drunk for love of the Cydnus.

of many races, and five hundred years of its history show race superposed upon race like the strata in a geological section. We can discern for certain a European element in Bithynia, Mysia, and Phrygia;[1] Syrian and Persian elements in Pontus, Cappadocia and Cilicia; a purely Celtic colony in that lesser Gaul in the very centre of the peninsula which was called Galatia, while the Greek blood, and still more the Greek civilisation, more or less pervaded and suffused the whole. Alexander and his successors had consciously and of deliberate purpose carried on the work of hellenizing Asia Minor which had long been proceeding, as it were unconsciously, and when the Romans made themselves masters of that country they found Hellas in possession. It was as if the English had found the French language and civilisation in possession when they came on the scene as conquerors in India, and had been content or, however reluctantly, been compelled to work with and through them. The Greeks had had little difficulty in replacing a rudimentary social and political organisation, in which the village was as a rule the unit, by their highly-organised network of self-governing cities, but the Romans could not in the same way displace those cities by something higher, and indeed stood in absolute need of them for the purposes of their administration.[2] Throughout the East the Romans did

1. [Perhaps also in Lydia, Syria, and Lycia. Ramsay (*Historical Geography*, p. 112)].

2. It was of course the Roman policy to favour the City State, and to create it where it did not exist. But the little theocratic States—large territories governed and taxed by the priests of a temple—which were so common in Asia Minor, particularly in Phrygia, Pontus and Cappadocia, were by no means equally congenial to them, and the instances recorded by Strabo (pp. 567, 577) of the abolition or diminution of their powers and privileges are no doubt only a few of the many such cases that occurred, and point to a large and comprehensive policy. Apart

not so much Romanise as Hellenise. The non-Greek races made no difference between the two civilisations. From their point of view the Roman only confirmed and extended the work which the Greek had begun, and there is a world of significance in the story that during the war with Titus, when they were wound up to the highest pitch of exasperation against the Roman and all his works, the Jews made a law that no Jew should teach his son the Greek language under pain of death.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that by the time of Augustus either Hellenism or the "civilisation of cities" [1] had conquered the whole of Asia. There was still, and there long remained, a great difference in these respects between the interior and the coast, between the mountain and the plain. Pamphylia, with splendid cities like Aspendus, Perge, Side and Attalea, was Greek, urban and civilized at the time when its mountain background of Pisidia was still a nest of half-savage mountaineers, with brigandage for their principal occupation. Eastern Cilicia was a rich, alluvial plain [2] studded with Greek cities, but the mountain fastnesses of the western portion of the country sheltered tribes of raiders and pirates

1. Tac. Ann., ii. 52.

2. "The great Cilician plain which lies at the foot of the Taurus . . . has been formed by the silt brought down by the three great rivers, and consists of a rich, stoneless loam, from six to eight feet thick, with a subsoil of shingle." Sir Charles Wilson, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geog. Soc.," for June, 1884, p. 318.

from any such policy, however, the mere multiplication of self-governing cities was enough to break up these priestly governments. As Curtius remarks ("Alterthum und Gegenwart," ii. 108) "die Priestermacht des Alterthums beruht überall auf Gauverfassung und sucht diese nach Kräften zu erhalten. Denn so wie die Bevölkerung sich in ummauerten Städten sammelte, entzog sie sich der priesterlichen Leitung." See also Ramsay in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. 42.

even under the Empire, and the district, which had never been really Hellenized or Romanized, held out with the same indomitable toughness against the Mussulman conqueror in the early middle ages. Cappadocia, the successors of Alexander, had done little or nothing to Hellenize, and there was hardly a city in it when under Tiberius it became a province. The Cappadocians were disliked and despised throughout the East, and their bad Greek was a byword. These "white Syrians," as the Greeks often called them, would perhaps have been Hellenized more easily if they had had a thoroughly Hellenic neighbour; but they bordered on Galatia, and Galatia, though it, to a certain extent, adopted the Greek language, still remained at bottom Gallic, and, so far as it adopted either civilisation, was rather Romanized than Hellenized. These Gauls, after many victories, many defeats and vicissitudes of all kinds, had finally settled in the very centre of the peninsula, most of their territory, including their capital, Ancyra, having been taken over from the Eastern parts of what once was Phrygia. It comprised a great salt desert and salt lake, and is to this day the most inhospitable part of Asia Minor. The position was no more desirable than was that of the Celtiberians in Spain, to which indeed it bore a striking similarity, and the explanation, no doubt, in both cases, is that the invading Celts (who were called "Greek Gauls" in Asia Minor), though too formidable to be exterminated were not numerous enough to maintain their conquests, and finally had to be content with a territory which could be spared without much privation and where they would be well out of the way. In the Greek East, where they were never quite at home, the Romans found this race of fighting men congenial as well as useful, always favoured them, and under the Empire recruited largely from them.

When Augustus made Galatia a province he took over the troops which King Deiotarus had trained and armed in the Roman fashion, and transferred them to the garrison of Egypt. But these were not the only Galatians in the Egyptian garrison. The Egyptian legions were crowded with them, and it has even been said, with some exaggeration, that this warlike race played the same part in the Roman armies of the East as was played by the Belgæ in the Roman armies of the West.

Finding in the Galatians of Galatia proper a trustworthy and congenial nucleus, the Romans, not unnaturally, incorporated in the so-called provinces of Galatia any neighbouring territories to which for one reason or another they were not yet prepared to give a separate organisation. Thus Augustus included in the province not only Galatia proper but Lycaonia, Pisidia, Isauria and part of Phrygia, while eighteen years later (B.C. 7) Paphlagonia and part of Pontus were added to it, and even Pamphylia and Armenia Minor[1] were at times included in the vast administrative district, which then ran from the southern very nearly to the northern sea. "Galatia" thus included districts much more Hellenic than itself, and it is at least possible that the Galatians of St. Paul's Epistle were not Galatians, in the strict ethnic sense, at all.

A different picture is presented by the coasts. Even that "Tyrol of Asia Minor," mountainous little Lycia, the home of an aboriginal population comparable to the Basques of Spain, had been effectually Hellenized by the time of Cicero. Bithynia, which, however, went rather

1. See the very interesting inscription (Henzen, 6912) to Bellicius Sollers. . . . leg. Aug. propr. provinc. Gal. Pisid. Phryg. Lyc. Isaur. Paphlag. Ponti Galat. Ponti Polemonian. Arm.

with Europe than with Asia, as Mauretania Tingitana went rather with Spain than with Africa, and which remained a little isolated and outside the main currents of life and traffic until Byzantium became the seat of Empire, developed a powerful, thoroughly urban, mainly Hellenic civilisation of its own, but had little influence for the next two centuries on the rest of Asia Minor. Even remote Pontus, thanks to great cities with vast territories like Sinope, had largely shaken off its Orientalism. All this harbourless northern coast, however, played a subordinate part in the early Empire. The real life-bringer was the Mediterranean, and it was above all on the western coast of Asia Minor that the Greek civilisation obtained its full development. There the coast-line was hardly less diversified than that of Greece itself, and innumerable islands formed sets of stepping-stones between the two peninsulas. A famous Greek city held every safe anchorage and every seaward terminus of the caravan routes connecting with the Plateau, and so with Syria and Further Asia, and every junction-point (for instance, Laodicea and Apamea) of importance on such routes. Above all, Ephesus, which had succeeded Miletus, just as it was to be succeeded in its turn by Smyrna, as the terminus of the only easy route between the Plateau and the coast, was a very great and brilliant city under the early Empire. It had a great sea-trade, a great land-trade; it included a large circumjacent territory[1] it was the seat of the Roman proconsul, and, above all, the home of the great temple of Artemis. An area, extending for a furlong beyond the walls of the Temple, constituted a kind of Leonine City within the city, in which the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities did not

1. Extending in one direction to a distance of over 22 miles from the city. Strabo p. 620.

run and which enjoyed the privileges of sanctuary to the full. The immense sacerdotal interest which had thus grown up was too strong to be disrespectfully handled even by Augustus. At the same time he could not tolerate the reckless arangements of Antony, who had doubled the original temple-enclosure so as to include a whole quarter of the ordinary city, and we know from an inscription in B.C. 6 that he had a wall drawn round the temple which reduced the enclosure to its old dimensions. We also know from the same inscription that an Augusteum, or temple for the Emperor-worship, of which the Asian city of Pergamus had set the first example some twenty years before, was included within the wall, and thus took its place by the side of the great Greek temple in one of the most Greek of cities.[1]

In all this great province of Asia there were but two Roman colonies—that of Alexandria in the Troad, called Colonia Augusta and probably founded by Augustus, and that of Parium on the Propontis, called Julia after the great Cæsar—while the Greek cities have been reckoned at 500, and were in many cases rich, populous and splendid, including such famous centres of Greek life and civilisation as Cyzicus, Pergamum, Thyatira, Smyrna, Philadelphia, Ephesus, Tralles, Laodicea, Apamea, Miletus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, along with the adjoining islands of

1. There is no foundation for Curtius' statements (*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens*, p. 29) to the effect that the worship in the Augusteum was performed by Romans, and that Romans shared in the administration of the Artemisium. Curtius has apparently misunderstood or misremembered Dio, li. 20 (to which he gives a worng reference in his note 1).

[Dio however (l. c.) does imply that the Romans at Ephesus and Nicaea worshipped Rome and the deified Julius Cæsar while the provincials at Pergamus and Nicomedia worshipped Rome and Augustus himself (cf. Beurlier *Le Culte Impérial* p. 18).]

"free" Mytilene, "free" Chios, "free" Samos and "federate" Rhodes. There were no Latin towns[1] in the whole of Asia Minor, and no such bestowal of either the Roman or the Latin franchise upon whole communities as was not unfrequent in the West. In Asia Minor the franchise was given not to peoples or cities but to individuals, and even so it was given sparingly. The treatment of Ilium was characteristic. Believing or pretending to believe in their own Trojan origin, the Romans made much of Ilium, but it did not apparently occur to them to Romanise it. Cæsar not only maintained its freedom and its exemption from taxation, but enlarged its territory, and these privileges were confirmed by Augustus. "Once more a Queen am I," wrote the poet in its name, and there is more than one epigram in the Anthology contrasting the desolation of Mycenæ the conqueror with the splendour of Ilium the conquered. Yet, though that splendour was conceived as a kind of revenge of the Trojans upon the Greeks, and though there were Romans who feared or affected to fear, that Cæsar[2] and even Augustus[3] had serious thoughts of transferring the seat of Empire from Rome to Ilium, thus unconsciously anticipating Constantine, nevertheless neither Cæsar nor Augustus sent Roman colonists to Ilium, or gave it the rank and title of a colony without such settlers—as was the common practice of the later Empire—or, in a word, treated it as anything but a Greek city pure and simple. So firmly fixed already was that separateness of the Greek East which was one day destined to tear the Empire in twain.

1. The sure prelude to full Romanisation, and the sure sign of a deliberate Romanizing policy.

2. Suet. Cæsar 79.

3. Horace. Od: iii. 3.

On the whole, then, the Greek was in possession in Asia Minor when the Roman came, and the latter did not oust him. Still, the mark left by Rome on Asia Minor and the work she did there, were by no means trifling. Her roads are there to this day, and sections of them, owing to the depopulation of certain districts during the Middle Ages, better preserved than in any other portion of the Roman world.[1] She took over and improved the trade route from Ephesus to Cæsarea and the Cilician Gates,[2] which had already played a considerable part under the successors of Alexander, and thenceforward the great bulk of the traffic, forsaking the old and difficult line of northward and southward communication, went East and West. Thus in Strabo's time the "Sinopic earth," which used to take the short but difficult route from Cappadocia to the Black Sea port,[3] followed the high road all the way to Ephesus and Italy. The directest possible communication with Rome became the one object to which all the rest were sacrificed. Ephesus itself became one of the great cities of the Empire, and Apamea Celænæ, posted on the first step of the long but easy rise from the Mæander valley to the interior Plateau, with the hills declining gently towards it on all sides, and so making it a favourable junction for the less important northward or southward roads with the great Eastern highway itself, did not lag far behind. Yet another such junction further East was

1. Especially in Cilicia (Hogarth in Royal Geographical Society's Supplementary Papers, vol. iii. 654) and Cappadocia (*ibid.* 677, 679, 682).

2. And so to the Upper Euphrates on the one hand, and Syria on the other.

3. The place of Sinope as the chief Black Sea port was under the Empire taken by Amisus, which was a good deal easier of access from the south.

Antioch of Pisidia, on which the military roads, driven through the Pisidian highlands by Augustus' orders in and about the year B.C. 6, converged. These Pisidian roads connected a network of Roman colonies, also planted by Augustus about this time, with one another and with Antioch. A few years later Quirinius, during his first governorship of Syria, conducted a campaign against a Pisidian tribe—the Homonadenses who had killed Amyntas[1] —from the side of Cilicia,[2] and it is in fact quite clear that the effectual pacification of Pisidia was the task which gave Augustus more trouble than any other with which he had to deal in Asia Minor.

Even in the East, where the Roman system of military colonies was not carried out nearly as completely as it was in Spain or Gaul, the Roman road brought the Roman colony with it. It is true that nothing was done comparable to the colonisation of Asia Minor by Alexander and his successors. Greek cities already occupied all the most desirable positions. Still it would be a mistake to suppose that in Asia Minor Augustus altogether eschewed this most powerful means of Romanisation, as he had deliberately eschewed it in Egypt. Besides the scattered colonies of Alexandria Troas and Parium in Asia, Apamea and Sinope[3] (both due to the great Julius) in Bithynia-Pontus, and Germe in Galatia proper, Augustus settled a group of military colonies in and about Pisidia. These were Antioch

1. *Supra* p. 213 (note 2).

2. *Supra* p. 215.

3. Of these four it may be conjectured that Sinope was the guard-house and base of operations against Euxine piracy, while Apamea watched over the Propontis, and Parium and Alexandria Troas guarded either end of the Hellespont.

of Pisidia, Olbasa, Comama, Cremna, Parlais and Lystra,[1] all of them, particularly Antioch and Cremna,[2] in naturally strong positions, and none of them wholly new foundations. Cremna, the most central of these colonies, had played a part in the wars of the Diadochi, and situated as it was at the point where the roads from Termessus, Selge and Sagalassus met, was well fitted to watch and bridle "those eternal centres of brigandage, agitation and revolt."[3]

In all these cases the Roman veterans were no doubt superimposed upon an already existing city and population. Roman colonies in the East were hardly ever

1. A glance at the map will show the strength of the chain thus formed by Antioch on the north, Olbasa and Comama on the west and south-west, Cremna in the centre, and on the east Parlais and Lystra, the last two no doubt entrusted with a special responsibility for the turbulent Homonadenses remaining in the mountains though themselves, in all probability in part peopled by the 4,000 prisoners of that tribe whom Quirinius settled in the "neighbouring cities." Strabo, page 569.

2. Such hill-towns were rare in Asia Minor under Rome, and indicated a special military purpose. Generally speaking, the tendency—begun under the Diadochi—to leave hill-sites and descend into the plain continued under Rome. It is common therefore to find the remains of the original hill-city and of the plain-city of the Macedonian or Roman period side by side or separated by a few miles only. Thus the two Derbes, the two Sebastes (in Phygia), Ipsus-Julia, Celænæ-Apamea. Celænæ was the hill town; Antiochus Soter transferred the inhabitants to the plain and called the new foundation Apamea after his mother Apama. Strabo p. 593, recognises the generality of the phenomenon and its importance—

τὰς δὴ τοιαύτας μεταβάσεις εἰς τὰ κάτω μέρη τὰς τότε συμβαινούσας ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ βίων καὶ πολιτειῶν ὑπογράφειν διαφοράς.

In the Byzantine period the disappearance of the peace and security which had been maintained by the iron hand of Rome was very clearly indicated by the return of the cities to the hills. "The favourite Byzantine situation was on a lofty or a precipitous hill." (Ramsay, "Historical Geography of Asia Minor," 344, note.)

3. Radet on "Les Villes de la Pisidie" in *Revue Archéologique* for 1893, xxii. 27—an admirable paper.

brand-new, exclusively Roman settlements, as they were not unfrequently in the West. As a rule, indeed, there were two distinct layers of population before them—the primitive, pre-Hellenic basis, and then the Greek layer on the top of that—and of Lystra in particular we happen to know that the common people spoke Lycaonian at the time of the visit of St. Paul.[1]

Besides these regular colonies, there were other cities in Asia Minor which were reinforced on special occasions by compact bodies of Roman citizens, but without, it would seem, attaining the full legal status and title of a colony. Such was Tralles, "from its position the most powerful fortress in the Meander valley," [2] which, after the ruinous earthquake of B.C. 26, was rebuilt at Augustus' expense and so largely repeopled by him with Roman citizens that it took the name of Cæsarea,[3] and became almost a Roman city; and such were Sebaste in Phrygia,[4] and Apamea Celænæ. What we happen to know of these two cities no doubt took place elsewhere, particularly in the other Sebastes and Cæsareas dotted so freely over Asia Minor, and even apart from these regular settlements of Roman citizens, Roman traders

1. Acts. xiv. 11. In the time of Strabo four languages—Pisidian, the language of the Solymi, Greek, and Lydian—were all spoken in the great Pisidian city of Cibyra. Strabo p. 631. Ramsay has found nine inscriptions of the Roman period—in the heart of Phrygia, not on its western, more Hellenized side,—presumably in the Phrygian language. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. 32.

2. Ramsay, *Historical Geography* p. 112.

3. It is called ὁ δῆμος ὁ καισαρείων in an inscription discovered in 1893. *Revue Archéologique* for July 1894, p. 98.

4. See Buresch's article in *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie* for January 24, 1894, pp. 106–111. We do not know the old name of Sebaste before it renamed itself (Σεβαστή of course = Augusta) in honour of Augustus.

and residents of all kinds must have been numerous in all the more important cities of Asia Minor. Even in the time of Mithradates 80,000 Romans and Italians are said to have been massacred on one day in the single province of Asia, and the increased opportunities offered by the peace and prosperity of the early Empire must have greatly swelled the number of these Roman traders and money-lenders throughout the East.

The garrison of Roman troops, which in some provinces was the most effectual means of Romanization, was wholly absent, so far at all events as the legions (still in the main Italians) were concerned, from the Asia Minor of Augustus. On the other hand, all the higher officials were Roman, and Latin was for a long time the exclusive language of the administration.[1] What was still more important, it was also the exclusive language of the law. It was the language of legal education, even in the East; it was the language in which the great jurists, even when they were Orientals, composed their writings; it was the language of the laws themselves, and it was the language

1. See the very typical inscription in Wood's "Ephesus" ("Inscriptions from tombs," p. 2) :—

Ἐπτάπους ὁ τάφος παιδὸς πατρός τε σὺν αὐτῷ·
Μαρκελλεῖνος ἔην ἀμφοτέρου ὄνομα·
Ἄλλοι μὲν στεφάνοισι χοαῖς δακύροις τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς
τειμῶσιν τὸν σὸν Μαρκελλεῖνε τάφον,
Ἀντίχθων δ' ὁ πατὴρ ψυχὴν ἰδίαν ἐπέδωκεν,
Κοινὸν ἔχειν ἐθέλων οὔνομα καὶ θάνατον.

Hanc aram si quis temptaverit transferre aut in terram excidere, aut alias amoveri curam fecerit, debet fisco poenam nominatim HS. X. MM. HS. Haec ara defenditur ab iis qui sunt in Tabulario Ephesi.

Φιλουμένη ἀνδρὶ ἰδίῳ καὶ τέκνοις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

Thus the purely personal part of the inscription is Greek; when the Roman administration is concerned it becomes Latin; and then reverts to Greek.

of the judgement.[1] It was not till the end of the fourth century, under Arcadius and Honorius, that the judges were specially authorized to give judgment in Greek as well as in Latin, not till the middle of the fifth century that wills could be drawn up in Greek, and though Imperial Constitutions do appear to have been occasionally published in Greek from Hadrian onwards, and though their existence at a much earlier date may perhaps be inferred from the Greek secretariat *(ab epistulis Græcis)* which appears to have existed as early as Augustus, still there are Emperors as late as Diocletian and even Constantine, everyone of whose Constitutions is in Latin, and it is perfectly clear that a litigant or accused person who knew only Greek must have been under enormous disadvantages. This did not apply to Egypt, where the whole administration and jurisdiction appear to have been conducted in Greek. But Egypt was in this as in other matters a great exception, and as regards the Greek East in general Latin did not succumb to Greek without a struggle. For all the philhellenism of distinguished Romans, the correct Roman attitude towards the Greek language was one of stiff and unyielding self-assertion. Till the last century of the Republic the Senate refused to listen to Greek speeches, and a Roman of the old school like Metellus strongly blamed the more modern and cosmopolitan Cicero for having condescended to speak Greek before the Council of the Greek city of Syracuse.[2] Romans

1. The chief modern authorities on the whole question of the use of Latin in the Greek East are Dirksen, *Civilistische Abhandlungen* I. i., 92, Budinsky *Die Ausbreitung der Lateinischen Sprache*, pp. 227–246, Lafoscade (whose essay contains inaccuracies and should be used with caution) in the Bibliothèque des Hautes Études. Fasc. 92, pp. 83–158.

2. Quod quidem apud Graecos Graece locutus essem id fieri nullo modo posse. II. Verr. iv. 147.

might use Greek as the indispensable means of higher education and among themselves. Every Roman of the upper class, in fact, knew Greek. But in all the political dealings with Greeks the proper thing was to speak in Latin[1] and to make use of an interpreter. Even when Flamininus declared the freedom of Greece before a Greek multitude, even at that moment of emotion and enthusiasm, the herald made the declaration in Latin, and it was in Latin that Æmilius Paulus announced to the conquered Macedonians at Amphipolis the new organization to be imposed upon their country. The old Greek claim to possess the exclusive language of civilisation the Romans were steadfastly determined not to recognise. Even under the Empire, Claudius, who was rather a philhellene than otherwise, took away the franchise from a Greek-speaking Lycian on the ground of his ignorance of Latin, and the use of Greek locutions in the Senate, even when there was no Latin equivalent, and the meaning could only be expressed in that language by a round-about periphrasis, was forbidden by the conservative Tiberius.

All this Roman self-assertion was natural enough, but in the long run it failed to accomplish anything. The Romanisation which was so quickly and so effectively carried out in the more or less barbaric West never

1. The well-known passage in Valerius Maximus (II. 2. 2.) is full of interest:—magistratus vero prisci quantopere suam populique Romani majestatem retinentes se gesserint hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendae gravitatis indicia illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Graecis umquam nisi Latine responsa darent. Quin etiam ipsos linguae volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excussa, per interpretem loqui cogebant, non in urbe tantum nostra, sed etiam in Graecia et Asia, quo scilicet Latinae vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur. Nec illis deerant studia doctrinae, sed nulla non in re pallium togae subici debere arbitrabantur, indignum esse existimantes inlecebris et suavitati litterarum imperii pondus et auctoritatem donari.

penetrated beyond the surface of the Greek East. It is true that the toga was worn at Antioch in the fourth century, that that detestable symptom of Roman manners, the gladiatorial show, which in Greece itself hardly got beyond the Roman colony of Corinth, became quite common in Asia Minor, particularly in the un-Greek Galatia proper, that mongrel, semi-Romanised names like Avidius Heliodorus and Titus Flavius Alcibiades were frequent enough to attract the contemptuous condemnation of good Hellenes, that the Romanisation of the name was not uncommon,[1] and that the unauthorised use of Roman gentile names had to be forbidden. It is true that that essential bond and symbol of Imperial unity, the religious worship of the dead and even, in some cases, of the living Emperor, was carried out earlier and more completely in Asia Minor,[2] where the divinisation of the sovereign had long been a perfectly familiar idea, than it was elsewhere. It is true that till Trajan the silver coinage minted in Asia Minor bore a Latin legend. But the general stream of tendency ran the other way, and as the centuries passed the Greek East became more and more exclusively and purely Greek. Even in the case of the coinage, though the silver retained its Latin legend till Trajan, the legend on the local bronze, as befitted the money with which the masses were most familiar, was always Greek. What we know to have happened in Greece proper at Corinth, where in the course of a century a thoroughly Latin

1. The Tiberius Severus, a descendant of Galatian tetrarchs, who was consul under Antoninus Pius and legate of Syria and Germania Inferior, with his purely Roman name and Roman career, is a typical case. But at a much earlier date we find the son of Theophanes the Mytilenean (the friend of Pompey) named Marcus Pompeius and appointed by Augustus to a procuratorship in Asia. Strabo p. 618.

2. The first temple "Romae et Augusto" was raised at Pergamus in B.C. 29.

centre became as thoroughly Greek, must have happened also in Asia Minor. The extension of Christianity, a religion whose documents were in Greek, and which was mainly preached in Greek, was favourable to Hellenism, and even in Rome itself Greek was for the first two centuries the language of the Church. Even the sepulchral inscriptions of the Popes in the catacombs are for that period in Greek. In the churches of the Greek East Greek soon pushed Latin to the wall, and at the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) a letter from the Pope had to be read out in Greek as well as Latin before the majority of the bishops present could understand it. The transfer of the seat of Empire to Constantinople was at first no doubt favourable to Romanisation, and Constantine was a thoroughgoing Romaniser. That the Greek spoken language is to this day called Romaic is a fact of no small significance. But in the end the Empire of the East was drowned and absorbed in Hellenism. From the Byzantine point of view Rome had "conquered the world only to give it to Hellas,"[1] and if St. Augustine was right in saying that the great Imperial state did her best to impose not only her yoke, but her language, on the peoples she had conquered, then as regards Greek and the Greek East, her best was vain, and she failed to do there what she perfectly succeeded in doing in Gaul, Spain, and even Africa. The fundamental dualism of East and West, which had been asserted by Mithradates and again by Antony, was never really overcome. It is true that the artificial unity lasted long enough for an Eastern religion to be adopted by the West, but the Roman world was too large and too diverse to be ruled from a single centre, and the transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople was only the consummation of a process which had been going on since the Empire began.

1. Psichari in "Études de Philologie neo-Grecque." (Hautes Études, Fascicule 92, p. xlvi.)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

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